



*Iambus* VI 22-49 (*POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 2 ii + fr. 4 + fr. 5)

CALLIMACHUS'  
Book of *Iambi*

ARND KERKHECKER

CLARENDON PRESS • OXFORD

1999

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.  
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,  
and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Athens Auckland Bangkok Bogotá Buenos Aires Calcutta  
Cape Town Chennai Dar es Salaam Delhi Florence Hong Kong Istanbul  
Karachi Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Mumbai  
Nairobi Paris São Paulo Singapore Taipei Tokyo Toronto Warsaw  
and associated companies in Berlin Ibadan

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press  
in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States  
by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Arnd Kerkhecker 1999

The moral rights of the author have been asserted  
Database right of Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 1999

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,  
without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press,  
or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate  
reprographics rights organizations. Enquiries concerning reproduction  
outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department,  
Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover  
and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data  
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data  
Kerkhecker, Arnd.

Callimachus' Book of *Iambi* / Arnd Kerkhecker.  
p. cm.—(Oxford classical monographs)

Originally presented as the author's thesis (Ph. D.)—1997.

Includes bibliographical references.

1. Callimachus. *Iambi*. 2. Iambic poetry, Greek—History and criticism. 3. Hipponax, fl. 540–537 B.C.—In literature
4. Satire, Greek—History and criticism. 5. Lost literature—Greece.
6. Oxyrhynchus papyri. I. Title. II. Series.

PA3945.Z5K47 1999

881'.01—dc21 99-14270

ISBN 0-19-924006-X

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

Typeset by Regent Typesetting, London  
Printed in Great Britain on acid-free paper by  
Biddles Ltd., Guildford and King's Lynn

*PARENTIBUS*



## Acknowledgements

THIS book is an all but unchanged version of my dissertation submitted for the degree of D.Phil. in Trinity Term 1997. Since then, some material has been added to the footnotes.

During work on the *Iambi*, I have received much help and support. I am grateful to the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes for a scholarship (1983–9), and a *Promotionsstipendium* (1990–1); to the British Academy for a ‘Fees Only’ Studentship (1989–92); to the Craven Committee for a Derby Scholarship (1989–91), and much generous and unbureaucratic help besides.

My thanks go to three Oxford colleges: to University (especially to Dr C. B. R. Pelling) for a year as a Visiting Student (1985/6), and two years as a graduate (1989–91); to Corpus Christi (and especially to Mr E. L. Bowie) for the P. S. Allen Junior Research Fellowship in Classical Studies (1991–3); and to Worcester for a lectureship (1993–5), and a fellowship (since 1995), and for granting me leave in Trinity 1997. My college has given me all the support that anyone could want. I thank all who have made it home away from home.

I owe special thanks to three Tubingians, and three Oxonians: to Professors R. Kannicht and E. A. Schmidt, who first introduced me to the study of Callimachus and supported my year in Oxford, and to Herr J. Wipperfurth, without whom it would not have been possible; to Drs D. P. Fowler and G. O. Hutchinson for reading parts of the thesis; and to Professor P. J. Parsons for supervising it. His humane scholarship has been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement.

I also thank my examiners, Mr A. S. Hollis and Dr N. Hopkinson, for examining the thesis, and for numerous helpful suggestions.

I am grateful to Professor W. Fuchs for suggesting the jacket illustration (the frontispiece of M. Quatremère de Quincy,

*Le Jupiter Olympien, ou l'art de la sculpture antique considéré sous un nouveau point de vue*, Paris 1815), and to the Bodleian Library in the University of Oxford for providing the photograph from their copy (shelfmark: Arch. Antiq. A. III. 11), for permission to publish it, and for waiving a substantial fee.

I thank Dr R. A. Coles for providing the photograph of the frontispiece, and the Egypt Exploration Society (and especially Professor Parsons) for permission to publish it.

I am much obliged to Professor A. Bülow-Jacobsen for providing the photographs of the *Diegeses*, and the Jowett Copyright Trustees (especially Professor J. Griffin) for defraying the cost. (For the publication rights, see H. Riad, *ZPE* 11, 1973, 203.)

Very warm thanks go to my copy editor, Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens. With characteristic acumen, learning, and generosity, he has saved me from a sea of errors, and much increased whatever usefulness this book may possess.

A particular debt of gratitude obliges me to Dr Nikolaos Gonis, who spent much time remedying my bibliographical deficiencies, and taming my computer. He has been an example of learning, rigour, and determination; and a good friend.

Finally, I thank my wife, without whom I would not have finished; and my parents, without whom I could not have begun. In particular, I thank my parents for their unfailing support, and for the classical education which they gave me. It is to them that I dedicate this study.

Worcester College,  
December 1998

A.K.

# Contents

|                                            |      |
|--------------------------------------------|------|
| <i>List of Plates</i>                      | x    |
| <i>Bibliographical Note</i>                | xi   |
| <i>List of Papyri</i>                      | xvii |
| <i>Note on the Text</i>                    | xxi  |
| Introduction                               | I    |
| 1. <i>Iambus</i> I                         | 11   |
| 2. <i>Iambus</i> II                        | 49   |
| 3. <i>Iambus</i> III                       | 64   |
| 4. <i>Iambus</i> IV                        | 83   |
| Excursus. The Papyri of <i>Iambi</i> V–VII | 116  |
| 5. <i>Iambus</i> V                         | 123  |
| 6. <i>Iambus</i> VI                        | 147  |
| 7. <i>Iambus</i> VII                       | 182  |
| 8. <i>Iambi</i> VIII–XI                    | 197  |
| A. <i>Iambus</i> VIII                      | 197  |
| B. <i>Iambus</i> IX                        | 204  |
| C. <i>Iambus</i> X                         | 207  |
| D. <i>Iambus</i> XI                        | 213  |
| 9. <i>Iambus</i> XII                       | 218  |
| 10. <i>Iambus</i> XIII                     | 250  |
| 11. Conclusion                             | 271  |
| A. Compass                                 | 271  |
| B. Composition                             | 282  |
| C. Character                               | 291  |
| Plates                                     | 297  |
| Bibliography                               | 301  |
| Index                                      | 331  |



## List of Plates

*Iambus* VI 22–49 (*POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 2 ii +  
fr. 4 + fr. 5)

*frontispiece*

*after p. 296*

- I. Beginning of the *Iambi* (*Dieg.* VI)
- II. *Iambi* X–XIII (*Dieg.* IX)
- III. *Μέλη* and beginning of *Hecale* (*Dieg.* X)
- IV. End of *Hecale* and beginning of the *Hymns* (*Dieg.* XI)

## Bibliographical Note

ABBREVIATIONS of the names of ancient authors and of the titles of their works follow LSJ, the *Revised Supplement*, and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. These works also list editions and collections of fragments (not included in my Bibliography). Cf. also L. Berkowitz and K. A. Squittier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works* (3rd edn., New York and Oxford 1990).

Modern commentaries are quoted by the author's surname (without bibliographical details): e.g. 'Fraenkel on A. Ag. 1'. Titles of journals are abbreviated according to *L'Année philologique*.

Modern books and articles are mostly quoted by author's surname and year of publication (bibliographical details are given in the Bibliography). Some frequently used works are referred to by author's surname only; for these, see the list of editions, monographs, etc. below.

Textual proposals (readings, supplements, conjectures) found in Pfeiffer's edition are usually quoted without bibliographical details.

The Bibliography at the end of the book is a list of most of the works used and quoted. For bibliographies on the *Iambi*, see Dawson 152–7, and esp. Lehnus.

The latest contribution is the dissertation by B. B. Hughes (see p. xiv). My copy is incomplete (without prolegomena; pagination erratic). He discusses *Iambus* I at 1–40, and 145–55 (translation at 5–8); II at 166–87 (tr.: 168f); IV at 187–212 (tr.: 193–9); XII at 103–45 (tr.: 108–13); XIII at 41–102 (tr.: 43–5).

There are numerous inaccuracies, mistakes, and errors of detail. I note only some. Despite Lehnus, Hughes misses some important contributions (among them most of Pfeiffer's *Addenda et corrigenda*).

There are also serious limitations of scope. Hughes follows Pfeiffer's text without reconsidering its papyrological basis. He treats only some of the *Iambi*: I, II, IV, XII, XIII (and promises work on III and V). He does not discuss their number and arrangement.

Finally, weaknesses of interpretation. There is a certain interest in the fictional occasions of the poems, but it soon disappears behind 'transgression of generic boundaries', 'fluidity of paradigms', 'verbal links', and 'intertextual bridges'. All that seems required to establish these are two instances of the same word (independent of their context). The effect of such connections is described as 'valorizing'.

I refer to relevant sections by page-numbers, and note points of interest explicitly. Silence implies disagreement.

I make no reference to the edition of É. Cahen and É. Delage (Paris 3rd edn. 1949, 4th 1953, 5th 1961, 6th 1972; at 147–82), or to J. Ferguson, *Callimachus* (Boston 1980; see the review by M. Campbell, *CR* 32, 1982, 94f).

I have not been able to make use of M. Asper, *Onomata allotria. Zur Genese, Struktur und Funktion poetologischer Metaphern bei Kallimachos* (diss. Freiburg im Breisgau 1994; *Hermes Einzelschriften* 75, Stuttgart 1997)

I have not seen the following:

H. Ancelot, 'Le Nouveau Callimaque' (diss. ined. Liège 1943; cf. *RBPh* 23, 1944, 589; Lehnus 51);

G. Perrino, *La poetica di Callimaco e i suoi influssi* (Naples 1982; Lehnus 398);

R. Pretagostini, 'La poesia ellenistica. 2: Callimaco e la nuova poetica', in F. Montanari (ed.), *Da Omero agli Alessandrini. Problemi e figure della letteratura greca* (Rome 1988), 292–303; 328–31 (Lehnus 398);

O. Nikitinski, *Kallimachos-Studien* (Studien zur Klassischen Philologie 98, Frankfurt am Main 1996).

**Editions of the *Iambi***

- Gallavotti C. Gallavotti, *Callimaco. Il libro dei Giambi* (La parola del passato 5, Naples 1946).
- Pfeiffer R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus. I: Fragmenta* (Oxford 1949). *II: Hymni et Epigrammata* (Oxford 1953). I 161–215 (*Iambi*); 216–25 (*Lyrica*); 504–6 (*Addenda et corrigenda*); II ix–l (*Prolegomena ad fragmenta*); 117–20, and 125 (*Add. et corr.*). (“Pfeiffer” refers to the commentary; addenda are quoted by volume and page.)
- Dawson Chr. M. Dawson, ‘The Iambi of Callimachus. A Hellenistic Poet’s Experimental Laboratory’, *YCLS* 11, 1950, 1–168.
- Howald–Staiger E. Howald and E. Staiger, *Die Dichtungen des Kallimachos* (Zurich 1955), 309–67 (*Jamben*); 369–79 (*Lieder*).
- Trypanis C. A. Trypanis, *Callimachus. Fragments* (Loeb Classical Library 421, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1958), 101–55 (*Iambi*); 157–73 (*Lyric Poems*); unchanged in the expanded edition of 1978.
- D’Alessio G. B. D’Alessio, *Callimaco. Inni, Epigrammi, Frammenti* (2 vols., Milan 1996), ii. 577–655 (*Giambi*); 656–73 (*Canti*).

**Monographs**

- Bing P. Bing, *The Well-Read Muse. Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Hypomnemata 90, Göttingen 1988).
- Cameron Alan Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton 1995).
- Clayman D. L. Clayman, *Callimachus’ Iambi* (Mnemosyne Supplement 59, Leiden 1980).
- Fraser P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols., Oxford 1972).
- Howald E. Howald, *Der Dichter Kallimachos von Kyrene* (Erlenbach and Zurich 1943).

- 
- |                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hughes           | B. B. Hughes, <i>The Iambi of Callimachus. Studies in the Hellenistic Development of the Iambic Tradition</i> (diss. Berkeley 1995, unpublished; available through UMI Dissertation Services, Ann Arbor, Mich.). |
| Hutchinson       | G. O. Hutchinson, <i>Hellenistic Poetry</i> (Oxford 1988).                                                                                                                                                       |
| Körte-<br>Händel | A. Körte and P. Händel, <i>Die hellenistische Dichtung</i> (Zweite, vollständig neubearbeitete Auflage, Stuttgart 1960).                                                                                         |
| Puelma           | M. Puelma Piwonka, <i>Lucilius und Kallimachos. Zur Geschichte einer Gattung der hellenistisch-römischen Poesie</i> (diss. Zurich 1947, Frankfurt am Main 1949).                                                 |
| V. Schmidt       | V. Schmidt, <i>Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas. Mit einem kritisch-exegetischen Anhang</i> (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 1, Berlin 1968).                                          |
| R. Schmitt       | R. Schmitt, <i>Die Nominalbildung in den Dichtungen des Kallimachos von Kyrene. Ein Beitrag zur Stellung seines Wortschatzes innerhalb des Griechischen</i> (Wiesbaden 1970).                                    |

### Reference Works

- |                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Buck-<br>Petersen | C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, <i>A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives Arranged by Terminations with Brief Historical Introductions</i> (Chicago 1944).                                                          |
| Chandler          | H. W. Chandler, <i>A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation</i> (2nd edn., Oxford 1881).                                                                                                                         |
| Denniston         | J. D. Denniston, <i>The Greek Particles</i> (2nd edn., Oxford 1954).                                                                                                                                                   |
| Gignac            | F. Th. Gignac, <i>A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i> (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità LV 1. 2), i. <i>Phonology</i> (Milan 1976); ii. <i>Morphology</i> (Milan 1981). |

- 
- GMAW E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged*, ed. P. J. Parsons (BICS Supplement 46, London 1987).
- K.-G. R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre* (3rd edn. in 2 vols., Hanover and Leipzig 1898. 1904).
- Kretschmer-Locker P. Kretschmer and E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen 1944).
- Lehnus L. Lehnus, *Bibliografia callimachea 1489-1988* (Genoa 1989).
- LIMC *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich and Munich 1981- ).
- LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and Sir Henry Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th edn., Oxford 1940).
- LSJSuppl. *A Supplement*, ed. E. A. Barber, P. Maas, M. Scheller, and M. L. West (Oxford 1968).
- LSJRev. *Revised Supplement*, ed. P. G. W. Glare and A. A. Thompson (Oxford 1996).
- Suppl.
- Mayser-Schmoll E. Mayser and H. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit. Mit Einschluß der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfaßten Inschriften. Band I: Laut- und Wortlehre. I. Teil: Einleitung und Lautlehre* (2nd edn., Berlin 1970).
- Mayser E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit. Mit Einschluß der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfaßten Inschriften. I: Laut- und Wortlehre. 2: Flexionslehre* (2nd edn., Berlin and Leipzig 1938); 3: *Stammbildung* (2nd edn., Berlin and Leipzig 1935). II: *Satzlehre. 1: Analytischer Teil. Erste Hälfte* (Berlin and Leipzig 1925); 2: *Analytischer Teil. Zweite Hälfte* (Berlin and Leipzig 1934); 3: *Synthetischer Teil* (Berlin and Leipzig 1934).

- RAC* *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1950- ).
- RE* *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart and Munich 1894-1980).
- Schwyzzer E. Schwyzzer, *Griechische Grammatik. Auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik. Erster Band: Allgemeiner Teil. Lautlehre. Wortbildung. Flexion* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II 1. 1, 2nd edn., Munich 1953).

# List of Papyri

IN the course of this study, papyrological questions are given full attention. This concerns the text of the fragments and their relationship to each other, readings as well as editorial arrangement. I have tried to carry out a detailed reassessment of Pfeiffer's edition, and to establish the rationale underlying his presentation of the text.

The following list includes all relevant papyri, poem by poem, passage by passage. Numbers refer to Pfeiffer's *Praefatio*, and to D. Marcotte and P. Mertens, 'Les papyrus de Callimaque', in Mario Capasso, Gabriella Messeri Savorelli, and Rosario Pintaudi (eds.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana. Parte seconda* (Papyrologica Florentina 19, Florence 1990), 409–27.

Compare, in general, Gallavotti 20–5; Dawson 3–6, 133–6; Clayman 1–10. The sequence of the folios of *POxy.* 1011 is established by the *Diegeses* (no. 8 Pf.; 211 M.–M.; Herter [1937] 93–5; Gallavotti 25f; Lehnus 88f).

An asterisk indicates that I have collated the original. For the rest, I have used photographs.

## *Iambus* I

### *Dieg.* VI 1–21

*Scholia Florentina*: *PSI* IX 1094 (no. 19 Pf.; 219 M.–M.) fr. a (1–9): on 6; fr. b (10–42): on 26–39.

- \* title/1–5            *POxy.* VII 1011 (no. 35 Pf.; 211.1 M.–M.)  
                         fol. 11<sup>V</sup> (91–6)
- \* 6–10                *POxy.* VII 1011 fr. 11<sup>V</sup>
- \* 5–34                *POxy.* XI 1363 (no. 25 Pf.; 218 M.–M.)
- \* 26–47               *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. 11<sup>F</sup> (97–118)



- 
- \* 47-51 *POxy.* VII 1011 fr. 11<sup>r</sup>  
 \* 54-73 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. III<sup>v</sup> (119-38)  
 \* 78-98 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. III<sup>r</sup> (139-59)

*Iambus* II*Dieg.* VI 22-32

- \* 4-17 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. IV<sup>v</sup> (160-73)

*Iambus* III*Dieg.* VI 33-40

- \* 1-13 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. IV<sup>v</sup> (174-86)  
 \* 5-24 *POxy.* XIX 2215 (no. 27 Pf.; 220 M.-M.) fr.  
 1,1-20  
 \* 24-39 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. IV<sup>r</sup> (190-205)

*Iambus* IV*Dieg.* VII 1-18

- \* 1-12 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. IV<sup>r</sup> (206-17)  
 \* 14-21 *POxy.* XIX 2215 fr. 2,1-8  
 \* 22-64 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. v<sup>v</sup> (218-60)  
 \* 65-106 *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. v<sup>r</sup> (261-302)  
 107-17 *PSI* XI 1216 (no. 7 Pf.; 222 M.-M.) col. i  
 (1-11)  
 115-17 *PRyl.* III 485,1-3 (no. 34 Pf.; 221 M.-M.)

**For the papyri of *Iambi* V-VII, compare the Excursus.**

*Iambus* V*Dieg.* VII 19-24

- 1-7 *PRyl.* III 485,4-10  
 1-34 *PSI* XI 1216 col. i (12-14, and 14a-44)  
 35-68 *PSI* XI 1216 col. ii (45-78)

- \* between  
     35 and 53: *POxy.* XVIII 2171 (no. 7 Pf.; 222 M.-M.)  
                     fr. 1, 1-9
- \* 54-63 *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 2 col. i 1-10

*Iambus VI**Dieg.* VII 25-31

- 1-21 *PSI* XI 1216 col. ii (79-99)
- \* 22-49 *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 2 col. ii 1-28
- \* 22-37 *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 4 col. i 1-16 (*desunt*  
             32-36 = 11-15)
- \* 22f *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 5, 2f
- \* 58-62 *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 3, 1-5

*Iambus VII**Dieg.* VII 32-VIII 20

- \* 1-14 *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 3, 6-14, and 14a-18
- 11-25 *POxy.* IV 661 (no. 21 Pf.; 223 M.-M.) col. i  
             (1-15)
- \* 21-25 *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 4 col. ii 1-5
- '39-51' *POxy.* IV 661 col. ii (16-28)

The fragmentary lines published by E. Lobel at *POxy.* XX, p. 168, do not belong to *Iambus VII*: Lobel, *POxy.* XXIII, pp. 37f; Pfeiffer II xvii on no. 21.

*Iambus VIII**Dieg.* VIII 21-32*Iambus IX**Dieg.* VIII 33-40

- \* 1f *POxy.* XIX 2221 col. ii 4-6

*Iambus X**Dieg.* VIII 41–IX 11*Iambus XI**Dieg.* IX 12–24*Iambus XII**Dieg.* IX 25–31

- |         |                                                              |
|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| * 1–6   | <i>POxy.</i> XIX 2218 (no. 28 Pf.; 224 M.–M.)                |
| * 7–45  | <i>POxy.</i> VII 1011 fol. vii <sup>r</sup> (369–407)        |
| * 46–86 | <i>POxy.</i> VII 1011 fol. vii <sup>v</sup> (408–448)        |
| 57–70   | <i>PMich.</i> inv. 4967 (Pf. II xxvi,1; 118f; no. 225 M.–M.) |

*Iambus XIII**Dieg.* IX 32–8

- |         |                                                     |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| * 2–33  | <i>POxy.</i> VII 1011 fol. vi <sup>r</sup> (336–68) |
| * 34–66 | <i>POxy.</i> VII 1011 fol. vi <sup>v</sup> (303–35) |

## Note on the Text

THE following list includes all differences from Pfeiffer's text: changes recorded in his *Addenda* as well as new readings, supplements, and conjectures. I also mention the most attractive proposals made since Pfeiffer's edition which I have not put into the text (marked '?'). More suggestions in the following chapters.

Readings by Coles, Rea, and some of those by Maas, are unpublished, and go back to a seminar given by Professor H. Lloyd-Jones. Some of them are found in Hughes. I rely on notes taken by Professor P. J. Parsons.

It should be noted that *POxy.* 1011 has seriously deteriorated since Lobel and Pfeiffer saw it. *Iambus* IV 93–101 (on fol. v<sup>r</sup>) have almost completely vanished, and *Iambi* XII and XIII (on fols. VII and VI) are mostly illegible. Perhaps image enhancing will eventually bring help.

| Line            | Pfeiffer   | This edition                 |
|-----------------|------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Iambus</i> I |            |                              |
| 6               | ὦ]νδρες    | ἀλλ' ὦ]νδρες?                |
| 11              | λαλάζων    | ἀλαζὼν                       |
| 14              | ]ν         | ]λι? ]αι? ]η?                |
| 16              | ᾠ]δρες     | ὦν]δρες?                     |
| 19              | ]δ         | ]κ? ]χ?                      |
| 21              | ἴ]αμβον    | ]ἴαμβον                      |
| 22              | ] . ὡς τις | ]χῶς τις (Maas)              |
| 26              | ὦνδρες,    | ὦνδρες·                      |
| 30              | φυσέων     | φυσέων. (Diller)             |
| 35              | φεῦ φ]εῦ   | <i>spatio longius</i>        |
| 41              | κλιντῆρος· | κλιντῆρος— (Pfeiffer II 117) |

|    |               |                            |
|----|---------------|----------------------------|
| 62 | οἱ δ' ἄρ' οὐχ | οἱ Ἰταλοὶ δ' (Lloyd-Jones) |
| 72 | [το]κῆωνος    | [το]κῆωνος                 |

*Iambus II*

|   |          |            |
|---|----------|------------|
| 5 | λ ..ουσα | .αθρου ..? |
|---|----------|------------|

*Iambus III*

|    |              |                    |
|----|--------------|--------------------|
| 5  | ] ..υτης     | ] .αὐτῆς?          |
| 6  | ] .<br>αὐτ'  | γ, π, or τ<br>αὐτ' |
| 7  | ]νερθε δεῖ   | ]νερθ' ἔδει        |
| 8  | ]λιςτι       | ] .ίς. τί          |
| 9  | ]ζόη         | ἦ] ζόη (Hunt)      |
| 33 | ἐξεκνήμωσ .[ | ἐξεκνήμωσα[        |

*Iambus IV*

|            |                                                               |                           |
|------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 11         | φη[                                                           | φα[?                      |
| 37a / 40 a | transpose ὥφρων ἐλαίη and ἱρή γάρ εἰμι (Maas: Pfeiffer I 505) |                           |
| 46         | κ[                                                            | κε[?                      |
| 75         | †αλιτιτω†                                                     | ὁ ἀλιέως (Lloyd-Jones)?   |
| 94-106     |                                                               | see Ch. 4 nn. 128 and 132 |

*Iambus V*

|               |                    |                                                        |
|---------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Dieg. VII 23f | τούτω              | τοῦτο (Fraenkel)                                       |
| 7             | ἐ]δωκε[<br>] .ε .η | ] .ωκε[ : ὅ]λω κε[? (Parsons)<br>μεμαγ]μένη? (Parsons) |
| 14            | ]λλα               | ] .λα                                                  |
| 30            | ποιήσης            | ποιήση                                                 |
| 34            | ....]τι            | λύει] τι? (Parsons)                                    |

*Iambus VI*

|       |       |                          |
|-------|-------|--------------------------|
| 16-21 |       | two more lines after 21? |
| 39    | χη .ε | χῆτ'ε?                   |

|      |         |                              |
|------|---------|------------------------------|
| 50-7 |         | lacuna of 6 or 8 or 10 lines |
| 61   | πατ[ήρ. | πατ[ήρ                       |

*Iambus VII*

|              |                  |                                |
|--------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Dieg. VIII 9 | ῆττον (?)        | {ῆττον} (Herzog)               |
| ib. 19f      | [π]αρα   πλησίως | παρα   [π]λησίως               |
| 26-38        |                  | lacuna of indeterminate length |
| 3            | ]                | ἐϋκλέες]?                      |
| 4            | ]                | δεξιὸς] (Maas)                 |
| 5            | ]                | ἀμφίξοον]?                     |

*Iambus VIII*

|                  |  |                                   |
|------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Dieg. VIII 28-30 |  | Pfeiffer I 195 corrected at I 505 |
|------------------|--|-----------------------------------|

*Iambus X*

In fr. 200a, only line 1 can stand as a fragment. At Str. IX 5,17 p. 438, I suggest reading: *Καλλίμαχος μὲν οὖν φησιν ἐν τῷ ἰάμβῳ* <“*Τὰς Ἀφροδίτας* (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία)” *τὴν Καστινήτιν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάσας τῷ φρονεῖν.*

*Iambus XI*

|             |                          |             |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Dieg. IX 18 | οὐσίαν Norsa-<br>Vitelli | αἰσίαν pap. |
|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|

*Iambus XII*

|    |                      |                           |
|----|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 11 | υμην                 | υμειν? (Rea, Parsons)     |
| 12 | θέμιν                | Θέμιν                     |
| 17 | κτείνειν ὄφιν        | κτείνει Δία (Rea, Coles)  |
| 19 | τῆςδ'                | τῆςδ'                     |
|    | εὐχῆ[σι] .. αεικομαι | εὐχῆ[ς, ἐγ]ὼ δ' αείκομαι  |
| 20 | Μοῦσα                | δοῦσα? (Coles, Rea)       |
| 29 | πολλὰ                | πολλὰ δ'? (Carden, Coles) |

|       |                 |                                              |
|-------|-----------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 37    | ] ..ψ[.]λ ..    | ]δαψ[ι]λ. (Lloyd-Jones)?                     |
| 38    | ] .ιγεν         | ]πτεν? (Rea)                                 |
| 43    | .[.] .λιςτος    | η[φ]αιςτος? (Rea)                            |
| 57-70 |                 | include Pfeiffer's <i>Addenda</i><br>II 118f |
| 62    | Δίκην           | Θέμιν                                        |
| 64    | τίμι ον κ ....[ | κάλλιστον κακόν[                             |
| 68    | δόσις,          | δόσις.                                       |

*Iambus XIII*

|              |                |                                            |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>Dieg.</i> |                | correct Pfeiffer's line-breaks             |
| 16-9. 49-52  |                | include Pfeiffer's <i>Addenda</i><br>I 506 |
| 16           | ἐπ...          | ἐπηλθ'                                     |
| 36           | ]φρα καὶ τραπ[ | δι]φρα καὶ τράπ[εζαν<br>(Barber)           |
| 45           | .[. ἐ]κρουσε   | ἀ[νέ]κρουσε (Gallavotti)                   |
| 56           | πρ ..... ου    | προπάππου (Lloyd-Jones)?                   |

In every other respect, Pfeiffer's edition remains authoritative. For convenience, I give a *Lesetext* (with brackets and sublinear dots, but omitting half-brackets).

This may be the place to mention two other conventions. I use double quotation-marks for exact quotations, single quotation-marks for paraphrase and the like. References to the Old Testament are to the text of the LXX, parts of which may well have been around for Callimachus to consult.

# Introduction

THIS study is about a book of Iambic poems from the heyday of Ptolemaic Alexandria, by one of the most accomplished of Greek poets. These poems were lost until the early years of this century, when the rubbish heaps of ancient towns in Egypt began to yield their fragmentary secrets, and a number of papyri restored Callimachus' *Iambi* to a shadowy existence. The pieces were edited—splendidly edited, and more than once. Enough survives to give at least an idea of each poem. Some are almost complete; none has vanished without trace. We can survey the whole of the collection, and study its design.

And yet, these poems have attracted little attention. The bibliography is agreeably slim. They seem to have acquired a reputation for difficulty, and their fragmented condition does not help.

It is one purpose of the following chapters to make at least the text (and, perhaps, the poetry) of the *Iambi* more readily accessible:

- to explain how the various witnesses (papyri, quotations, etc.) combine, and to spell out the arguments underlying Pfeiffer's presentation;

- to distinguish what is firmly established from inference and conjecture;

- to attempt an integrated interpretation of each poem, and of the Book as a whole.

It is, I believe, worth the effort. There is some of Callimachus' finest writing here, and in their variety of theme and manner, the *Iambi* present a microcosm of his art.

In particular, the *Iambi* offer a paradigm for Callimachus' attitude to the literature of the past. *Iambus* I is spoken by the ghost of Hipponax coming up from Hades to lecture the scholars of Alexandria. In the new setting, he finds new things



to say. The opening poem is not just an *étude* in the style of an old master—it makes explicit the considered re-creation and adaptation of choliambic poetry.

The choice of tradition ('genre'), the very fact that there is such a choice, is significant. In Callimachus' *œuvre*, no single genre dominates. In the Alexandrian Library, the entire literary past has become available. For the scholar, everything is within reach. The poet can pick and choose. This is what Callimachus does, and what he defends in *Iambus* XIII.

When Callimachus chooses to write in (and about) the Iambic tradition, we can ask: why Iambi? Why Hipponax? What does this particular type of poetry mean to Callimachus and his Hellenistic readers? How do his own *Iambi* compare? Are they different?

We shall still find an Iambic 'I', though rather more civilized than aggressive. We shall still find judgements, moral and aesthetic, though the communal (Archilochean?) agenda of the *ἐταῖροι* at the *συμπόσιον* give way to an individual's (Hipponactean?) concern with manners. To this individual, poetry and philology matter, but so do friendship and love. Moralizing goes beyond the pedantries of poetological programmes. The academic setting of *Iambus* I provides the scene for general moral reflection.

We shall still find individuals attacked and named, but these names may be fictitious. The pungent taste of cantankerous individuality is conjured up with great skill, but the emphasis moves away from proclaiming judgements to reflections about judging. *Iambus* IV is about a quarrel, yet we do not learn what the quarrel is about. Instead, we concentrate on how those quarrelling behave. Callimachus' interest is in manners. He is conducting a critical experiment. The setting is still recognizably contemporary, but for the purpose of his experiment, he can afford to fictionalize, to generalize reality. The studied crudity of the old *Iambus* appears ennobled, the hatred has mellowed.

If Callimachus' choice of genre is significant, it should be instructive to set his new civilized invective against the background of the tradition. This could be done in two ways. Firstly, through direct comparison of individual poems. This is attempted, where possible, in the following chapters (especially

for *Iambus* V). Secondly, by reconstructing the views commonly held about Iambic poetry, its general image.

The image of Iambic poets is of particular interest, because it is Callimachus' starting-point, defined for him by his audience. Whatever he wants to make of the old Iambus, this is where he has to meet his readers. However, I cannot offer full discussion of the Iambic image here. I shall briefly outline what could be done, and summarize the results.

One could present the Iambic image in three steps: first, a sketch of the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the three canonic Iambicists (Archilochus, Hipponax, Semonides); second, a survey of the demise of the Iambus, and the continued use of its metres (especially trimeter and scazon) in later Hellenistic and Imperial poetry; and third, an account of (chol-)Iambic poets contemporary with Callimachus.

Why confine oneself to the three canonic Iambicists? Because only for Archilochus and Hipponax is there enough evidence. Why, then, include Semonides? Because the selection is old,<sup>1</sup> and may well be indebted to Callimachus' *Πίνακες*.<sup>2</sup> A discussion of Iambic *Wirkungsgeschichte* can draw on the following sources: *testimonia vetera* (especially pre-Hellenistic references and quotations); scholarly work (and *Lives*); Hellenistic epigrams.<sup>3</sup>

First, Archilochus: a figure of pan-Hellenic fame, much like Homer and Hesiod.<sup>4</sup> His poetry is recited at (rhapsodic) *ἀγῶνες*,<sup>5</sup> a biographical legend arises,<sup>6</sup> and he receives cultic worship (like Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles).<sup>7</sup> There are numerous papyri (of Ptolemaic and Roman date).

<sup>1</sup> The date of the 'Alexandrian Canon' is problematic, but the lists are the work of antiquity. See Pfeiffer (1968) 203–8, esp. 204 on the Iambicists. I hope to publish my work on the canon elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> For later work based on the *Πίνακες*, cf. Ar. Byz., *Πρὸς τοὺς Καλλιμάχου Πίνακας* (fr. 368f Slater), with Pfeiffer (1968) 133f.

<sup>3</sup> Gabathuler (1937).

<sup>4</sup> Von Blumenthal (1922); Semerano (1951); Bossi (1981). Collections of *testimonia* in the editions of I. Liebel (Leipzig 1812) and G. Tarditi (Rome 1968). Cf. Pöhlmann (1994) 14f.

<sup>5</sup> Heraclit. 22 B 42 D.–K.; cf. Pl. *Ion* 531A, 532A; Clearch. fr. 92 Wehrli; West (1974) 18f.

<sup>6</sup> West (1974) 26f; Lefkowitz (1981) 25–31; C. W. Müller (1985).

<sup>7</sup> Farnell (1921) 363–5, and 420–6; Pfister (1909. 1912). Cf. Pöhlmann (1994) 15 (with 106,50).

A clear image emerges from the early references (Heraclitus, Pindar, Critias, Plato, comedy), and is found everywhere in later literature. Archilochus is the great hater, the railing reviler (*βλάσφημος*), whose disgraceful frankness (*παρρησία*) and abusive slander (*λοιδορία*) drive Lycambes and his daughters into suicide.<sup>8</sup>

Hipponax is much more obscure.<sup>9</sup> His claim to fame is the 'invention' of the scazon.<sup>10</sup> Otherwise, he is hardly more than a name. There is altogether less material, and very few traces before the Hellenistic age.<sup>11</sup> His poems, it appears, remained forgotten until the end of the fourth century. So far, all extant papyri are of Roman date.

His image in the Hellenistic epigrams closely resembles that of Archilochus,<sup>12</sup> and the same is true for biographical legend. Hipponax, too, hurls poems against his personal enemies, Bupalus and Athenis. They, too, commit suicide.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, Semonides. He is even more shadowy. (Was he included just to make up a triad?) Very little survives, so far no papyri. His name is often dropped from the canon, and he lacks any distinct profile.<sup>14</sup>

In short, the image of Iambic poetry is determined by the image of the classics, above all Archilochus. Although (or because) there is a clear gradation of prominence between the three canonic Iambicists, the picture of Iambic mood, temper, character is homogeneous. Even Theocritus, while setting himself against the *communis opinio*, treats Archilochus and Hipponax alike.

<sup>8</sup> The only exception: Theoc. *Ep.* 21; cf. Bing (1988). Call. fr. 380; Degani (1984) 173–6; cf. frs. 384, 39; 544; Hermipp. *τοῦ Καλλιμαχέϊου* fr. 63 Wehrli.

<sup>9</sup> Degani (1984) 19–115, and 171–86; cf. Jung (1929) 5–9; Tedeschi (1979). Collection of *testimonia* in E. Degani's Teubner edition (Leipzig 1983).

<sup>10</sup> T 20–44 Degani; West (1982) 160.

<sup>11</sup> Ar. *Lys.* 361; *Ra.* 661; cf. Hippon. fr. 165b W.; Eup. fr. 84 K.–A.; Pöhlmann (1994) 22. *Iambus* XIII suggests that there was a (continuous?) Ephesian tradition.

<sup>12</sup> T 15–17 Degani; Bühler (1964) 227; cf. Degani (1984) 50f, and 178–84. Inventor of parody: fr. 128 W.; Pfeiffer (1968) 249.

<sup>13</sup> T 7–19 Degani; West (1974) 26. Again, the only exception is Theocritus (*Ep.* 19); Bing (1988). Cf. *Iambus* I 1–4.

<sup>14</sup> Luc. *Pseudol.* 2; Lysanias at Ath. XIV 12 p. 620 c; cf. E. *Or.* 1545 with Willink, and Wilamowitz on E. *HF*, I 36,68.

A glance beyond the canon confirms this analysis. Apart from the classics, few traces of pre-Hellenistic Iambi survive. Those of Anacreon, Ananius, Aristoxenus, Susarion seem to have left no mark.<sup>15</sup> Solon's iambic fragments are quoted for their subject-matter by writers on Athenian topics.<sup>16</sup>

Thus an aspiring writer of Iambi is faced with two masters: Archilochus and Hipponax. When it comes to picking a patron saint, the choice seems obvious: Archilochus, the ἥρως κτίστης of Iambic poetry.<sup>17</sup> Why does Callimachus opt for Hipponax? His image is the same. Just because he is more obscure?

One reason for choosing Hipponax, I believe, is his association with the scazon.<sup>18</sup> Why should that matter? Because, by the third century, the trimeter had lost its 'Iambic' character.

After Hipponax, the Iambus is essentially dead. For the fifth and fourth centuries, traces of Iambi are scarce. The Iambus as a poem in various metrical forms (trochees and iambs, stichic and epodic) becomes less prominent.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, the Iambic metre κατ' ἐξοχήν, the trimeter (τὸ λαμβεῖον), comes to be employed for almost every purpose conceivable—and loses its 'Iambic' tone.

In its two variants (tragic and comic), the trimeter becomes a universal metre. The tragic form is used for gnomic poetry and epigram.<sup>20</sup> The comic is popular with philosophers and satirists,<sup>21</sup> and is commonly used for didactic poetry.<sup>22</sup> There are poems on history, geography, medicine. Even an Atticist glossary can don the garb of verse.<sup>23</sup> Under the Empire, the

<sup>15</sup> All in *IEG*; cf. West (1982) 40, and (1997) 623 (on the name Ananios/Ananias).

<sup>16</sup> Arist. *Ath.*, and Plu. *Sol.*

<sup>17</sup> Von Blumenthal (1922) 12, and 29f,64; cf. Liebel (above, n. 4) 23–37.

<sup>18</sup> Above, n. 10; cf. Rhinth. fr. 10 Kaibel (T 45 Degani); Bühler (1964) 246f.

<sup>19</sup> Demise of the Iambus: West (1974) 1; 19; 33. Metrical variety: *ibid.* 10; 22; 37f; *IEG* I pp. 1, and 109; below, Conclusion, n. 46.

<sup>20</sup> West (1982) 159f.

<sup>21</sup> Timon (*Suppl.Hell.* 848); Crantor (*ibid.* 345f); Crates (*ibid.* 362–8); Zeno (*ibid.* 852f); Cleanthes frr. 2–3, and 5–10 Powell (*Coll.Alex.* pp. 229–31); cf. Machon.

<sup>22</sup> Jacoby (1902) 60–74; West (1982) 160.

<sup>23</sup> Glossary of Philemon: West (1982) 183,65. The practice continued with Byzantine writers. Among the latest examples are the pieces on plants and animals by the Palaeologan poet Manuel.

trimeter serves as a metre for all purposes and occasions, personal and public, political and religious.<sup>24</sup>

This holds true also for Byzantium. Throughout the Greek Middle Ages, the iambic trimeter—or rather: the Byzantine dodecasyllable—remains one of the most popular metrical forms.<sup>25</sup> There is the personal poetry of Gregory Nazianzen and Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium. Around the year 500, a certain Marianus composed iambic paraphrases of Theocritus, Apollonius, Callimachus, Aratus, Nicander.<sup>26</sup> George of Pisidia chose the trimeter for his epics on the wars of Heraclius,<sup>27</sup> and Michael Psellus composed an essay on the question whether George's or Euripides' verse was the more accomplished.<sup>28</sup>

Already for Callimachus, of all the stichic metres used by the old Iambicists (trimeters, tetrameters, choliamb), only the last retains its true Iambic ring.<sup>29</sup> Only the choliambic tradition remains separate and distinct. This is, I suspect, why Callimachus opens and closes his collection with scazons, and this is why the *πρῶτος εὔρετής* of the scazon is given pride of place.

But is there a distinct choliambic, even Hipponactean, tradition? (I was just suggesting that Hipponax was all but forgotten.) From around the turn of the century (fourth/third), Hipponactean scazon is rediscovered, and not by Callimachus alone.<sup>30</sup> Most notably, there are Herodas' mimes, but the metre occurs in a variety of poetic forms. For epigram, see Charinus,<sup>31</sup>

<sup>24</sup> West (1982) 182–5. On encomia and iambic prologues: Cameron (1970a), and his introduction to *PAnt.* III 115. Cf. Hammerstaedt (1997) 299f.

<sup>25</sup> Maas (1903); Kambylis (1997) 327–32.

<sup>26</sup> *Suda* μ 194 Adler. Avienus did the same for Livy and Vergil: Jacoby (1902) 73f; Cameron (1970a) 120f.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the iambic epic on the labours of Heracles, ed. B. Knös, *ByzZ* 17, 1908, 397–429.

<sup>28</sup> A. R. Dyck (ed.), *Michael Psellus. The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 16, Vienna 1986).

<sup>29</sup> Tetrameters fall out of use: West (1974) 34, 13; (1982) 160; 182; or suffer the same fate: for the philosophical poem of Scythinus, see West (1974) 177.

<sup>30</sup> History of choliambic poetry: Pelckmann (1908); Gerhard (1909) 202–27; Jung (1929) 56–69; West (1982) 160f. Collection of texts: A. D. Knox (1929) 228–353. Callimachus' influence: Hermipp. *τοῦ Καλλίμαχείου Life of Hipponax* (fr. 93 Wehrli).

<sup>31</sup> *Suppl. Hell.* 313.

and Aeschrion's epitaph for Philaenis.<sup>32</sup> Aeschrion is also credited with narrative Iambi in scazons,<sup>33</sup> and among other examples of choliambic story-telling are Apollonius' *Κάνωβος*,<sup>34</sup> and perhaps Diphilus' *Θηεηίς*.<sup>35</sup> The metre becomes popular for all kinds of narratives.<sup>36</sup> Babrius, for instance, is so much concerned with Callimachus' *αἶνοι* that the peculiar quality of Hipponactean burlesque falls by the wayside.

However, the choice of the scazon in later narrative poetry is made with an eye on a group of third-century Iambicists whose moralizing (narrative) Iambi are distinctly Hipponactean—and directly relevant to the *Iambi* of Callimachus.<sup>37</sup> They are: Phoenix of Colophon,<sup>38</sup> Hermeias of Curium,<sup>39</sup> Parmeno of Byzantium,<sup>40</sup> and Cercidas.<sup>41</sup>

'Scathing Iambi' are attested for Alcaeus of Messene, the author of invective against Philip V of Macedon.<sup>42</sup> He wrote an epigram on Hipponax:<sup>43</sup> was he one of his Hellenistic disciples? Were his Iambi composed in scazons? They are lost, their metre unknown; they may even have been epigrams in trimeters. The same darkness shrouds the Iambi of Theocritus.<sup>44</sup>

Early in the third century, Hipponax is fashionable. After a period of almost complete obscurity, there is a sudden burst of Hipponactean verse, a choliambic craze. Callimachus is reacting, not only to the past, but to the present.

The hallmark of this revival is the choliambic line—how do the epigoni handle the old metre? I cannot here include an

<sup>32</sup> *Suppl.Hell.* 4. Cf. Asclepiades (ibid. 216f); A. D. Knox (1929) 276–85.

<sup>33</sup> *Suppl.Hell.* 5–10.

<sup>34</sup> A.R. frr. 1–3 Powell (*Coll.Alex.* pp. 4f).

<sup>35</sup> Date unknown: West (1974) 31.

<sup>36</sup> Choliambic material in the *Life* of Alexander: A. D. Knox (1929) 287–333; Babrius (c.100 AD); West (1982) 175.

<sup>37</sup> Powell-Barber (1921) 2–21, and (1929) 63f; Gerhard (1909) 228–84; Degani (1984) 40–56; Clayman 66–71; Hutchinson 48f. Proverbs in scazons: A. D. Knox (1929) 342–7.

<sup>38</sup> *Coll.Alex.* pp. 231–6; Gerhard (1909); Fraser I 733f, and II 1030, 135 (on the fragments), and 136f (on his date and supposed echoes in Callimachus).

<sup>39</sup> *Coll.Alex.* p. 237; cf. *Suppl.Hell.* 484.

<sup>40</sup> *Coll.Alex.* pp. 237f; *Suppl.Hell.* 604 A + POxy. LIII 3710 ii 24–6.

<sup>41</sup> *Coll.Alex.* pp. 201–19; cf. *Suppl.Hell.* 131.

<sup>42</sup> In elegiac epigrams: Gow–Page at *HE* II 8.

<sup>43</sup> 13 G.–P. (*HE* 76–81).

<sup>44</sup> *Suda* θ 166 Adler.

analysis of the Hellenistic scazon.<sup>45</sup> Suffice it to say that Callimachus' versification is singularly strict:<sup>46</sup> no pure iambic endings, no ischiorrhogy, few resolutions, probably no chor-iambic anacalasis, no harsh meetings of vowels; however, the 'Knoxian Laws' do *not* apply.<sup>47</sup>

Other questions, too, would deserve systematic treatment: Callimachus' position *vis-à-vis* the archaic, Hellenistic, and Roman Iambicists (and satirists), especially imitation of Hipponax in Callimachus, Herodas, Phoenix;<sup>48</sup> the *Iambi* and Old Comedy;<sup>49</sup> 'genre' (and *Kreuzung der Gattungen*).<sup>50</sup> These topics are important, but I cannot deal with them here. This study attempts to secure the basic understanding of the text. Since the text is fragmentary, that is often difficult. I start from problems of detail, hoping to clear the ground for others to look at the wider picture.

The history of Greek Iambic poetry is one important subject which I cannot discuss fully. Another is the history of the study of Hellenistic poetry. How do the following chapters relate to developments in Callimachean scholarship? Again, all I can offer here are some brief remarks—and the promise that the questions outlined in this introduction will not be forgotten for the rest of the book. They will remain implicit.

A survey of the history of Callimachean scholarship could start from the term *Hellenismus* and the difficulties of its

<sup>45</sup> Bibliography: Lehnus 322–8.

<sup>46</sup> West (1982) 160f; Cunningham on Herod., pp. 218–21.

<sup>47</sup> West (1974) 113; cf. (1982) 42. Before *muta cum liquida*, Callimachus permits *correptio Attica* (Hipponax: West [1974] 113f). Treatment can vary within one line (e.g. I 60, involving different words): *variatio prosodica* (cf. S. Ant. 1240, varying one word)?

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Clayman 55–83.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Arist. *Po.* 4 pp. 1448<sup>b</sup>24–1449<sup>a</sup>14; Epich. fr. 88 Kaibel = 112 Olivieri; Ath. V 10 p. 181 c; West (1974) 27; 30; 33–7; Bonanno (1980) 74–9; Degani (1993) 12–36; Rosen (1988); Depew (1992) 322f; Rösler (1993) 76; 80; 94, 31; Cozzoli (1996) 141. I have not seen E. Degani, 'Giambo e commedia', in E. Corsini (ed.), *La polis e il suo teatro II* (Padua 1988), 157–79. For oriental influences, see West (1997) 495–506.

<sup>50</sup> When I use the term 'genre', I am not referring to some fixed set of characteristics which every poem of that genre strives to reproduce. I am rather thinking of groups of texts with certain family resemblances that can develop and change.

definition.<sup>51</sup> It would have to set Wilamowitz's liberating concept of *neue Dichtung* against the bemused exasperation of the generation of Burckhardt and Mommsen.<sup>52</sup> After Wilamowitz's *Hellenistische Dichtung*, Callimachean studies are transformed by three events: publication of the *Aetia* prologue in 1927;<sup>53</sup> Snell's influential study 'Über das Spielerische bei Kallimachos' (first published in 1946);<sup>54</sup> and Pfeiffer's work, culminating in his monumental edition.

The discovery of the *Aetia* prologue turns Callimachus into a self-reflexive modernist. Snell emphasizes his formal virtuosity. Students of Augustan poetry search for the 'programme'. The pestilence of poetological neo-scholasticism takes its toll. In books as different as those by Hutchinson and Schwinge, ingenious cleverness and artistic brilliance are still at the centre of Callimachus' art.<sup>55</sup>

Callimachus' poems have learned to bow to complexity. Much has disappeared beneath incrustations of multi-layered self-referentiality, sly implication, and ironical *mise en abyme*.<sup>56</sup> Can one take Callimachus seriously?<sup>57</sup> "Do the *Iamboi* make no moral appeal?"<sup>58</sup>

This sketch, fully executed, would discuss the nature of Callimachus' 'programmatic statements'. Interpretation of the *Aetia* prologue and related texts (the end of *Ap.*, and *Epigr.* 28) could be especially instructive for *Iambi* IV and XIII.

All these questions I shall have to pass by—but is that acceptable? Can I simply begin, without theoretical clarification, without statement of method? One has to enter the hermeneutic circle somewhere. One has to take something for granted: either one's conceptual tools, or the evidence on which

<sup>51</sup> Bichler (1983); Kassel (1987a). Cf. Dover (1971) lxxf; Lloyd-Jones (1984) 55.

<sup>52</sup> Wilamowitz (1905) 81–144; (1912) 134–218; (1924) with Pfeiffer's review in *DLZ* 46, 1925, 2134–44. Cf. Pfeiffer (1931–2); Kassel (1987a) 8f, and 11 (cf. 24); Schwinge (1985) with Kassel (1987b) 202–4 (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *CR* 36, 1986, 295–300, at 299), esp. 204 (Burckhardt, Mommsen).

<sup>53</sup> *POxy.* XVII 2079 (London 1927).

<sup>54</sup> Snell (1980c).

<sup>55</sup> Schwinge (1986); Hutchinson.

<sup>56</sup> On irony: A. Schmitt (1989).

<sup>57</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1976).

<sup>58</sup> Newman (1974) 342,3. Cf. Macleod (1973) 306f, and (1977) 372.



one's conceptualization is based. There is no *via regia*. The most intelligent methodological introduction can do violence to the evidence. The most scrupulous examination of evidence can fall victim to conceptual confusion.

I shall here start from matters of textual detail, and proceed inductively—for two reasons. Firstly, methodological theory is a subject in its own right. Questions of method are too serious for introductions. They will arise as this study progresses, but they are not its main concern. Secondly, it is, I think, possible to proceed in this way. Theory is theory of something. Not every argument will begin with the facts and end with them, but they will need to be considered at some point. Even a student of theory will on occasion need to set aside his theoretical beliefs, and allow them to be challenged by the object at hand. If this is part of every scholarly enterprise, an inductive form of presentation is, not the only way, but one legitimate possibility.

I repeat from the beginning (in slightly fuller form) the main aims of the following chapters. I shall try to:

- provide a complete survey of Callimachus' Book of *Iambi*;
- check Pfeiffer's text against other editions and the papyri, and explain his arrangement of the fragments;
- secure the understanding of linguistic and antiquarian detail (in selection: this is not a full commentary);
- attempt an interpretation of each poem as a whole;
- consider the arrangement of the poems, and the composition of the Book.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Fragmenta incerti loci* are discussed when and where appropriate. The so-called *Mέλη* (frr. 226–9) are not included (see below, Conclusion).

# I

## *Iambus I*

IN Callimachus' first *Iambus*, Hipponax has left the underworld. For a brief while, he has come up to a temple near Alexandria. Here, he convenes the scholars of the Museum to lecture them on manners. Hipponax has been dead some two hundred years—suddenly, he seems very much alive. What are we to make of his *ἀνάβας*?

Ideas of poetic immortality are omnipresent in Greek literature.<sup>1</sup> Past and present can converse through the channels of tradition. Song is without death, and capable of immortalizing those sung as well as the singer.<sup>2</sup>

Homer centres on the heroes' fame, not the poet's. It is the singer's task to record the *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*.<sup>3</sup> He does this with the help of the Muses,<sup>4</sup> the daughters of *Μνημοσύνη*.<sup>5</sup>

The lyric poets inherit this notion<sup>6</sup>—but their poems speak more freely about the role of the poets themselves.<sup>7</sup> Sappho is confident that, through the gift of the Muses, she herself will not be forgotten.<sup>8</sup> She can bestow immortal fame, and she can deny it.<sup>9</sup> Pindar claims that future glory depends solely on the

<sup>1</sup> The literature on Greek concepts of afterlife is vast. To complement the present sketch, see esp. Lattimore (1942).

<sup>2</sup> See, in general, Maehler (1963).

<sup>3</sup> Il. VI 357f; IX 189; Od. XXIV 196–202. Cf. Maehler (1963) 10–12; 14f; 26.

<sup>4</sup> Il. II 484–93; Maehler (1963) 18f.

<sup>5</sup> West on Hes. *Th.* 54.

<sup>6</sup> Simon. fr. 26 P.; B. 3,90–2; Pi. *P.* 6,10–14. Cf. West (1997) 534–6.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Rösler (1980) 56–77 (with bibliography).

<sup>8</sup> Sapph. fr. 193 L.–P. (55 and 193 may belong to one poem). In fr. 147 (*μνάσασθαι τινά φαιμι †καὶ ἕτερον† ἀμμέων*), the plural makes it doubtful whether Sappho refers to herself (cf. Maehler [1963] 61,2). See also fr. 65, esp. 9f: *πάνται κλέος[ † καὶ ε' ἐνν' Ἀχέρ[οντ]*. That the person addressed in these lines is Sappho herself can be inferred from the address in 5: *Ψάπφοι, κεφίλ[*; Fränkel (1969) 213f. Cf. Simon. fr. eleg. 20,14f W.

<sup>9</sup> Sapph. fr. 55 L.–P.; Maehler (1963) 59f; Rösler (1980) 72–5.

poet's skill.<sup>10</sup> The heroes of old live only in song.<sup>11</sup> And song lives on, already to Pindar, in the written word: easily copied, distributed, and kept for the future, spreading fame in space and time.<sup>12</sup>

Körper und Stimme leiht die Schrift dem stummen Gedanken.  
Durch der Jahrhunderte Strom trägt ihn das redende Blatt.

In later literature, Hellenistic and Roman, these τόποι persist. They are particularly frequent in the Hellenistic genre of fictitious epitaphs on classical poets.<sup>13</sup>

Poets are immortal through the immortality of their poetic *œuvre*.<sup>14</sup> The deathlessness of poetry (and the concomitant quasi-afterlife of the poet) is often effectively opposed to his physical death<sup>15</sup>—but κλέος does not die.<sup>16</sup> The poet is ἀφθιτος εἵνεκα Μουσέων,<sup>17</sup> and this quasi-immortality is on occasion expressly linked to the written word.<sup>18</sup>

The poet lives on in his poems. In Latin poetry, he comes to be identified with his work. Ennius can scorn ritual mourning and funeral ceremonies, because he himself will still fly from mouth to mouth:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Pi. O. 10,91–6; N. 7,11–16; I. 7,16–19. Cf. Ibyc. fr. 1,47f P.; Thgn. 237–54; Maehler (1963) 83–7. A Homeric τύμβος (Il. VIII 84–90; Od. XI 75f) is no longer enough (cf. Hor. Carm. III 30; IV 8).

<sup>11</sup> Pi. P. 3,112–15; Simon. fr. eleg. 11,15–18 W.; Theoc. 16,42–59; Prop. III 1,25–34 (with Hubbard, CQ 18, 1968, 315); Hor. Carm. IV 9.

<sup>12</sup> Pi. N. 4,13–16; 5,1–3 (contrast O. 9,21–6). Pace Bing 16; Rösler (1980) 45–56 (see Parker, CR 31, 1981, 159–62). Cf. Maehler (1963) 89f. The following quotation is taken from Schiller, *Der Spaziergang*.

<sup>13</sup> For collections of material, see the introductions to Hor. Carm. II 13 and 20 in Nisbet–Hubbard; Kiessling–Heinze and Syndikus on Hor. Carm. II 13; 20; III 30; IV 8; 9; Bömer on Ov. Met. XV 871–9 (with bibliography); Gabathuler (1937).

<sup>14</sup> FGE p. 174; AP VII 6; 407. Regarding poets still alive: Call. Epigr. 7(?); A.R. IV 1773–5. Literature on *εφραγίδες*: Rösler (1980) 59,74

<sup>15</sup> AP VII 11–14; 16f; Ov. Am. III 9,25–32.

<sup>16</sup> Theoc. Ep. 21 (on Archilochus); AP VII 43; 713. Cf. AP VII 715 (Leonidas on himself); Call. Epigr. 2 (on Heraclitus). Cf. also the epitaph on the boy-poet Q. Sulpicius Maximus (Rome, AD 94; GVI 1924,51–3): . . . εἴης χῶρον ἐς Ἡλύσιον | ζούσας ἔλιπες γὰρ ἀηδόνας, ἄς Αἰδωνεύς | οὐδέποθ' αἰρήσει τῇ φθονερῇ παλάμῃ. (On Αἰδης βάσκανος, see AP VII 712 with Gow–Page on HE 1791.)

<sup>17</sup> AP VII 25,1.

<sup>18</sup> AP VII 21; IX 575. Cf. Posidipp. 17 G.–P. (HE 3142–9).

<sup>19</sup> Enn. fr. var. 17f Vahlen. Cf. Posidipp. Suppl. Hell. 705,21 with Lloyd–Jones, JHS 83, 1963, 92 (= [1990b] 184f); Hor. Carm. II 20,21–4 (with

Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu  
faxit. cur? volito vivos per ora virum.

With the Hellenistic poets and their Roman disciples, the focus has moved: from the fame of heroic deeds, to the glory of the poets themselves.<sup>20</sup> The former does not entirely disappear: the power to immortalize is purposefully highlighted in Theocritus' poem to Hieron.<sup>21</sup> However, apart from this one instance, the *τόπος* does not recur before the Augustan poets adapt it to their poetic needs:<sup>22</sup> Propertius to his strategy of persuasion,<sup>23</sup> Horace to his assessment of the dignity of his own poetry of praise<sup>24</sup>—great deeds are in need not just of any poet, but of the *lingua potentium vatum*.<sup>25</sup>

In Hellenistic poetry, however, the main interest lies with the poets and their lot in Hades or on the Elysian Fields.<sup>26</sup>

Syndikus I 482,18; Nisbet-Hubbard II 336; Kiessling-Heinze on 9-13); III 30 (with Syndikus II 273,8); *Ep.* I 20,9-13; *Ars* 345f; Verg. *G.* III 8f (with Mynors); Prop. III 1,35-8; Ov. *Met.* XV 871-9 (with Bömer); Stat. *Theb.* XII 810-19. I have not seen G.W. van Bleek, *Quae de hominum post mortem condicione doceant carmina sepulcralia Latina* (diss. Rotterdam 1907).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. already Ibyc. fr. 1,47f P., with West (1997) 533, and see above, n. 7. Nevertheless, the shift of emphasis is significant.

<sup>21</sup> Theoc. 16,42-59.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Syndikus II 368,23 (on Hor. *Carm.* IV 8).

<sup>23</sup> Prop. III 2,15-24.

<sup>24</sup> Hor. *Carm.* IV 2,22-4; 8; 9.

<sup>25</sup> Hor. *Carm.* IV 8,26f. For this reciprocity of *laudator* and *laudandus* in Pindar and elsewhere, see Bond on E. *HF* 673-86.

<sup>26</sup> Q. Sulpicius Maximus is said to pass *χωρον ἐς Ἡλύσιον* (n. 16). Cf. Dom. Mars. fr. 7 Courtney; Lattimore (1942) 31-43. On descriptions of the underworld, see Nisbet-Hubbard II 203-5 (on Hor. *Carm.* II 13; with bibliography). Apart from Homer and Aristophanes, there are Plato's myths in the *Gorgias* (referring to Homer at 525D6-E1 and 526D1f), the *Republic*, and the *Phaedo*. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 717-819 with West's commentary, and West (1997) 297-300. Parodies of Homer's *νέκεια*: Pl. *Prt.* 314C3-316A2 (Cratin. fr. 2 K.-A.?); Timon of Phlius' *Ἰλλοι* (*Suppl.Hell.* 775-840; Long [1978]; Ax [1991]); and the *νέκεια* of philosophers by Crates of Thebes (fragments in *Suppl.Hell.*; Long [1978] 75). Cf. Pl. *Men.* 100A; Cic. *Att.* IX 10,7 (with Shackleton Bailey); 11,2; 18,2; Hor. *S.* II 5. Heracles' *κατάβας*: Critias' *Πειρίθου* (*TrGF* I 43 F 1-14; Page's introduction to *GLP* 15; Wilamowitz on E. *HF*, II 157f; Dover on Ar. *Ra.*, pp. 54f). On Heracles in Pindar and Bacchylides, see Lloyd-Jones (1967a) and (1985). Cf. West (1997) 152-4; Handel's *Admeto*. Nothing remains of Menippus' *Νέκεια* (attested at D.L. VI 101), but Lucian's *ἀναβάσεις* and *καταβάσεις* survive: *Nec.*, *DMort.*, *VH* II 15; cf. *Cont.*, and *Pisc.*; Helm (1906) 17-62. Cf. also Hdt. II 122, and the *κατάβας*

When you die, you may hope to meet them there<sup>27</sup>—and they continue to sing<sup>28</sup> (a topic frequently found in the epigrams<sup>29</sup>). Mostly, they perform the hits of their sublunary career.<sup>30</sup> Sometimes, though, they go on composing. Pindar's hymn to Persephone is a case in point;<sup>31</sup> of its genesis, Pausanias gives the following account:<sup>32</sup>

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὀνείρατος ὄψιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι προήκοντι ἐς γῆρας· ἐπιστὰς ἡ Περσεφόνη οἱ καθεύδοντι οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὑμνηθῆναι μόνῃ θεῶν ὑπὸ Πινδάρου, ποιῆσειν μέντοι καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ᾄσμα Πινδάρου ἐλθόντα ὡς αὐτήν. τὸν μὲν αὐτίκα τὸ χρεὼν ἐπιλαμβάνει πρὶν ἐξήκειν ἡμέραν δεκάτην ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνείρατος. ἦν δὲ ἐν Θήβαις γυνὴ πρεσβῦτις γένους ἔνεκα προσήκουσα Πινδάρῳ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ μεμελετηκυῖα ἄδειν τῶν ἁσμάτων. ταύτῃ Πίνδαρος ἐνύπνιον τῇ πρεσβύτιδι ἐπιστὰς ὕμνον ᾗσεν ἐς Περσεφόνην, ἡ δὲ αὐτίκα, ὡς ἀπέλιπεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὕπνος, ἔγραψε ταῦτα ὅποσα τοῦ ὀνείρατος ἤκουσεν ἄδοντος.

Here, a dead poet addresses the living—but still in a dream.<sup>33</sup> It is a pity that there is no way of dating the story.

Another channel through which the dead can address the living is the epitaph.<sup>34</sup> Among the epigrams on poets, there are

GLP 94; Merkelbach (1951), revised by Lloyd-Jones-Parsons (1978), and Maltomini (1991). For an ancient picture, see Pausanias' description of Polygnotus' Ὀδυσσεύως κατὰ βασις in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi (X 28–31). Cf. also Man. *Astr.* II 46–8; Handel's *Orlando* II 11.

<sup>27</sup> Pl. *Ap.* 41A; Cic. *Sen.* 83; Ael. *VH* XIII 20. Cf. Od. XI 630; Nilsson (1967) 169f; Helm (1906) 21; Kiessling-Heinze on Hor. *Carm.* II 13,21. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Dying* III 8,4 (p. 343 Heber-Eden; p. 107,26–35 Stanwood).

<sup>28</sup> The Muses are with the poets not only in old age (fr. 1,37f; E. *HF* 673–7; Posidipp. *Suppl.Hell.* 705,5f; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I 31,20), but even in death (cf. Syndikus I 423,27 on Hor. *Carm.* II 13; Nisbet-Hubbard II 204f). The *locus classicus* is Hor. *Carm.* II 13,21–40. Cf. Mosch. 3,115–19; Prop. IV 7,61f. On philosophy and literature in Hades, see [Pl.] *Ax.* 371CD, and cf. Tib. I 3,59 with K. F. Smith's note. For 'silent Hades', see West (1997) 160, esp. n. 249.

<sup>29</sup> On Anacreon: *AP* VII 25; 27; 30. Contrast 29, and compare 408 (on Hipponax).

<sup>30</sup> Syndikus I 424f; Kiessling-Heinze on Hor. *Carm.* II 13,25.

<sup>31</sup> Pi. fr. 37 S.–M. Cf. *Vita Ambrosiana* vol. I p. 2,6–9 Drachmann; Lehnus (1973) 5–11.

<sup>32</sup> Paus. IX 23,3f.  
<sup>33</sup> Cf. Dodds (1951) 102–34, esp. 111; 119; 127,52; O. Skutsch (1985) 147–53; Bing 70f.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. e.g. Call. *Epigr.* 4; 13. Note esp. Phoen. fr. 1 P. with Cameron 173. See also Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Dying* I 2 (pp. 272f Heber-Eden; pp. 27,17–28,5 Stanwood).

several pretending to be spoken by poets from their tomb.<sup>35</sup> When a poet writes his own epitaph, the words one reads are actually his.<sup>36</sup> In reading these poems, one listens to the voices of the dead.

The dead can speak in dreams, and through the conventional conceit of epigram—but can they act, react, and interfere? Can dead poets do what Hipponax does in *Iambus* I: can they decide to pay a visit without invitation? Normally, the initiative rests with the living. If you want to speak to the dead, there are two ways: *κατάβασις*, and *νεκρομαντεία*.<sup>37</sup> Interviewing the dead is a favourite motif of Old Comedy, and it is with some comic revenants that I shall conclude these opening remarks.

Aristophanes' *Frogs* is sometimes regarded as a celebration of the immortality of poetry, its power to outlast its makers.<sup>38</sup> In fact, the play starts from the idea that with Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides dead, their poetry, too, is gone. This is why Dionysus makes designs for its restoration, and brings back Aeschylus.

Is the Aeschylus of the *Frogs* an ancestor of Callimachus' Hipponax? Differences outweigh resemblances. It is not Aeschylus' idea to return. He is called up from the past to cure the ills of a degenerate present. He himself has not changed, and that is why Athens needs him: as a guide to correct recent error. Contrast *Iambus* I: Hipponax' *ἀνάβασις* is a surprise. The scholars have not called him. They do not know how much they need his advice. And Hipponax, too, has developed. He has not come to restore an ideal past. The world has changed. The old coarseness will not do.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Bing 62–5, and *AP* VII 11; 15; 26; 410; 414; 709.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. Call. *Epigr.* 21; 35; *AP* VII 417–19; 715; 718. Cf. Call. fr. 64 (with Bing 67–70).

<sup>37</sup> Both serve the same purpose. Polygnotus painted Homer's *νεκρομαντεία* (cf. Norden 200,2 on Verg. *A.* VI 236–63) as an *Ὀδυσσέως κατάβασις* (Paus. X 28–31, esp. 28,2), turning the poet's temporal sequence into a tableau. Cf. Darius' ghost in A. *Pers.*, and fr. 273 R. (from the *Ψυχαγωγοί*). See Hopfner (1935); Broadhead on A. *Pers.*, pp. 302–9; LXX 1 *Ki.* 28 with West (1997) 550–2 (cf. 50f; 415f; 426f; 575), and Handel's *Saul* III 1–3. Cf. also the *ἀνάβασις* of Dardano in Handel's *Amadigi*. The dead cannot return of their own accord: West (1997) 154f; cf. 162,257 on the fragment of Asius at *IEG* II p. 46.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Syndikus II 274,13 on Hor. *Carm.* III 30.

In the *Frogs*, Aeschylus is called back. The initiative remains with the living. The dead have not yet asserted themselves. The play ends with the prospect of an ἀνάβας, but the encounter of past and present is not acted out.

Representing the clash in full dramatic detail is what Aristophanes seems to have done in the *Γηρυτιάδης*.<sup>39</sup> A delegation of contemporary poets is sent to Hades to seek their predecessors' advice (presumably on poetry)—fertile ground for confrontation and caricature. Again, it appears, the interest was less in notions of poetic immortality than in setting present misery against past glory. And again, it is not the dead who prompt the action, but the κατάβας of the living.

Did the dead intrude upon the living in Old Comedy? Did some comic poet see his chance to surprise his audience as Callimachus does in *Iambus* I? It is difficult to find examples.

In Eupolis' *Δῆμοι*, an embassy of dead Athenian statesmen—Solon, Miltiades, Aristides, Pericles, P(M)ylonides—is sent to Athens from Hades.<sup>40</sup> It is widely assumed that the first half of the play was set in the underworld, and that the action consisted in selecting the ambassadors.<sup>41</sup> It is not clear, however, what caused the embassy to be sent in the first place. A cry for help from above? Gloomy reports from P(M)ylonides, a recent arrival? Perhaps the dead did decide they could bear it no longer. Perhaps they were petitioned. Only new fragments could bring light.

Solon also appeared in the *Χείρωνες* of Cratinus, berating the Athenians.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps he was invoked in a necromantic scene.<sup>43</sup> Aeschylus figured in Pherecrates' *Κραπάταλοι*, but it is not even

<sup>39</sup> Ar. frr. 156–90 K.–A.; cf. Kaibel ap. *PCG* III 2, 101: “ipsi poetae legatos de suo numero electos ad inferos misisse finguntur, non tam opinor de emendenda arte Aeschylum aliosve antiquiores consulturi quam quaesituri quis inter vivos principem locum tenere videatur vel recentiores num antiquis poetis inferiores putandi sint. quamquam alia quoque quae ab inferis quaesierint cogitari possunt.”

<sup>40</sup> Eup. frr. 99–146 K.–A., esp. fr. 99 = 92 *CGFP*.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Page's introduction to *GLP* 40, and the Council of Hell in Claudian, *In Rufinum* I 25–122.

<sup>42</sup> Cratin. frr. 246–68 K.–A., esp. fr. 246. Cf. Kaibel ap. *PCG* IV 245: “Solon . . . ab inferis reversus et publicam et privatam vitam a suis legibus defecisse demonstrat.”

<sup>43</sup> Cf. fr. 250 K.–A.

clear whether in Hades or above.<sup>44</sup> Evidence for citizens of Hades taking the first step remains elusive.

Callimachus offers a striking contrast. In *Iambus* I, Hipponax returns of his own accord. He is fully aware of the circumstances of a different age, rumbustiously interferes with the Alexandrian present, and has new things to say. The past is no longer a straightforward model for improving the present: the past is a foreign country. You must not imitate, but listen, observe, and learn.<sup>45</sup> The new interest in the afterlife of the classics, Callimachus shares with other Hellenistic epigrammatists. The new Hipponax—keenly alive and meddlesome, yet mellowed and humane—is all his own.

Fr. 191 begins with a continuous stretch of 51 lines. There are three witnesses.

*POxy.* VII 1011 fol. 11. The verso (91–6) contains the *inscriptio* and lines 1–5, the recto (97–118) has lines 26–47. On its own, fol. 11 does not establish how many lines are lost between 96 (bottom verso) and 97 (top recto).

*POxy.* 1011 fr. 11. The verso preserves the ends of 6–10, the recto the beginnings of 47–51. The join with fol. 11 was established by Lobel:<sup>46</sup> “Fr. 11 [verso] is to be placed below line 96 [= 5 Pf.], the indeterminable letter indicated by Hunt in line 97<sup>47</sup> being in fact the top of the  $\phi$  of  $\kappa\epsilon\pi\phi[\omicron\varsigma$ . The two pieces do not anywhere touch but are separated by a narrow worm-track.” The extent of the lacuna between verso and recto remains unknown.

*POxy.* XI 1363.<sup>48</sup> A narrow strip containing the central area

<sup>44</sup> Pherecr. fr. 85–104 K.–A., esp. fr. 100. Cf. Kaibel ap. *PCG* VII 143: “Aeschylus quod inducitur de arte sua gloriatus . . . , potest quidem hinc conici apud inferos agi etsi non omnem at partem fabulae. tamen quoniam certa huius rei vestigia non apparent, fieri pariter potest ut poeta Aeschylum ad superos excitaverit de vitae apud inferos ratione narraturum.”

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer (1955) 72; Bing 50–90.

<sup>46</sup> *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* 7, 1932–4, 233; cf. 6, 1929–31, 138; Lobel (1934a) 168.

<sup>47</sup> Hunt does not count the trace ] (following line 96). It should be numbered 96a. 97 is the first line of fol. 11<sup>r</sup> (= 26 Pf.).

<sup>48</sup> The overlap and its consequences were noted (without spelling out the chain of deductions) by Lobel (1934b): a single loose sheet with some corrections on the text as given in (1934a), and a full text of *Iambus* I 4–34. It can be found preceding the article in Bodley’s copy.



of 5–34. Identification is based on the overlap of *POxy.* 1363, 22–30, with *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>r</sup> 97–105 (= 26–34 Pf.). At this stage, we can finally bridge the gap between this part of the poem (*POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>r</sup> + *POxy.* 1363) and its beginning (*POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup> 92–6 + fr. 11<sup>v</sup>). Lines 5–7 of *POxy.* 1363 tally with three lines known from quotation (= 9–11 Pf.; fr. 86 Schneider). The last letters of lines 5f (= 9f Pf.) overlap with *POxy.* 1011 fr. 11<sup>v</sup> 4f. This fragment, in turn, joins with *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup> (see above). Since *POxy.* 1011 fr. 11<sup>v</sup> 1 is identical with *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup> 96a (= 6 Pf.), and since *POxy.* 1011 fr. 11<sup>v</sup> 4f is identical with *POxy.* 1363, 5f (= 9f Pf.), it follows that *POxy.* 1363, 1 is the same line as *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup> 96. This is why Pfeiffer allocates both the β from the top of *POxy.* 1363 and the letters ειν from the bottom edge of *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup> to line 5 of *Iambus* I.

A remarkable coincidence. In lines 22–30, *POxy.* 1363, coming from a different manuscript,<sup>49</sup> supplies the central area that is missing from *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>r</sup> 97–105 (= 26–34 Pf.). Through the indirect tradition, it can be linked to *POxy.* 1011 fr. 11<sup>v</sup>. This, in turn, establishes the join with the beginning of the poem in *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup> by a shared worm-track. And it emerges that *POxy.* 1363 starts precisely where *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup> breaks off.

The poem begins abruptly: no introduction, no preparation. Suddenly, a voice. Not the voice of the poet addressing an undefined singular ('gentle reader'), but that of Hipponax himself asking an audience for attention. The plural, and the request to listen, create a dramatic scene (1–5):

Ἀκούσαθ' Ἰππώνακτος· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἤκω  
ἐκ τῶν ὅκου βοῦν κολλύβου πιπρήσκουσιν,  
φέρων ἱαμβον οὐ μάχην αἰείδοντα  
τὴν Βουπάλειον [...] νά [...] ἄ]νθρωπος  
]...β[ 1 ]...εἰν

5

Hipponax, they said, remained dangerous even in Hades<sup>50</sup>—here, then, he is. (His speech continues to the end of the poem.) He still uses his own metre (scazons), and his own dialect

<sup>49</sup> Clayman 3 is misleading.

<sup>50</sup> *AP* VII 405; 408; 536; XIII 3; Degani (1984) 50f; 178–84.

(Ionic).<sup>51</sup> The scholars will recognize his technique, his mannerisms of style and thematic preferences.<sup>52</sup> Periphrasis for 'Hades' is poetical, but the stuff of which it is made is low: small change, and cheap food.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Clayman 55f; Ardizzoni (1960) 5–9 (with Masson, *REG* 75, 1962, 300f); Degani (1984) 49f. Cf. Herter (1973) 217; Körte–Händel 98; Hughes 9–11. I have not seen E. Degani, 'Ipponatte e i poeti filologi', *Aevum antiquum* 8, 1995, 105–36 (at 112ff).

<sup>52</sup> 'Listen': Archil. fr. 115?; 168 (cf. 109) W.; Sus. fr. 1,1 W.; Phoen. fr. 1,13–17 P.; Herm. Iamb. fr. 1,1 P.; cf. *Iambus* IV 6, and V 2; Jung (1929) 34f; D'Alessio 578f,6. Self-reference in 3rd person: Hippon. fr. 32,4; 37; 117,4 W.; Sus. fr. 1,1 W.; Bing 65. Cf. also Alcman. Poverty, thieving, cold, hunger, deprivation: Hippon. fr. 3; 3a; 13; 32; 34; 36; 39 W.; West (1974) 28f; 31. Choriambic anaclassis: ἀκούσαθ' Ἰππώνακτος = ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ ∪ ? So far, no certain example in Callimachus; accepted at fr. 192,14 and 203,21 by V. Schmidt 97; cf. Maas (1962) 68 (§ 107). West (1982) 161,82 prefers prosodic explanations (cf. 18; 82); and all known cases are in the first metron. For correction of κτ, see West (1982) 17; Maas (1962) 78 (§ 126) is sceptical; unlikely in Hephaestion's model line.

<sup>53</sup> See Kassel–Austin on Pherecr. fr. 86 (cf. fr. 113; 137); Jocelyn on Enn. *Iphigenia* 192. Rehrenböck (1987) 60f suggests proverbial origin (cf. *Iambus* III 39; V 1; XI). On the parallel passage in Call. *Epigr.* 13,6, see Gow–Page on *HE* 1192, and Marcovich (1970). Cf. Hughes 11. This seems to be the first example of πιπρήσκω in the active. On κόλλυβος, see Tod (1945), esp. 111. Tod establishes three meanings: (1) cake; (2) rate of exchange; (3) small coin. In Hellenistic Greek, κόλλυβος means 'exchange' (cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*: κολλυβιστήριον 'Wechslerstube', κολλυβιστής 'Wechsler', κολλυβιστική τράπεζα 'Wechslerbank'). Here, it seems to refer to a coin of small denomination. Callimachus uses the word in an antiquated sense—suitable for his speaker. (κολλυβιστής 'un-Attic': Phryn. = Men. fr. 590 K.–A.) However, a reference to the small bronze coinage usually identified with κόλλυβοι would be anachronistic in the mouth of Hipponax. Even the passages from Old Comedy mentioning κόλλυβοι appear to precede the coins themselves (Ar. *Pax* 1200, of 421; Eup. fr. 247 K.–A., from the Πόλεως of 423–20?; J. H. Kroll [1993] 24–7; cf. Svoronos, *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* 14, 1912, 123–60, at 123–9; Tod 112 with n. 12). If so, this may just be a colloquialism for a very small value independent of the existence of small coin. Tod compares English 'mite' (111f; Kroll 24f). Given that κόλλυβος can mean 'bun, cake', one could think of 'I haven't got two beans to rub together'. As such, the phrase might go back to Hipponax himself. (I thank Dr Jonathan Williams for help with this note.) [But did κόλλυβος ever mean 'cake'? Only the heteroclite plural κόλλυβα is attested, and that from imperial times; but 'cake' is misleading for a dish of boiled wheat (ἐψητὸς σίτος Cod. Vat. Gr. 23 s.v.), which is what the word still means in church. Tod allows that κόλλυβος might have been used of bronze token coinage during the Peloponnesian War; and can it be excluded that a coin had already been so

This first period may have been rounded off in 5 by a brief description of the μάχη Βουπάλειος, or the topics designed to replace it. Hipponax then bids his addressees gather in a certain sanctuary near Alexandria (6-11):

ὦ|νδρες οἱ νῦν| ] κέφ|  
 κα|τηύληςθ' οἰμε| ] Διω|νύσου  
 ] τε Μουσέων .α| ] . Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἐς τὸ πρὸ τείχευς ἱρὸν|ἀλέες<sup>55</sup> δεῦτε,  
 οὗ τὸν πάλαι Πάγχαιον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα  
 γέρων ἀλαζὼν ἄδικα βιβλία ψήχει.

Lines 6–8 contained an address (κα]τηύλησθε 7: 2nd pers. pl.) describing the group summoned in 1; the gods mentioned (Dionysus, the Muses, Apollo) suggest poets or literary scholars.<sup>56</sup> Compare the *Diegesis* (VI 2–4): ὑποτίθεται φθιτὸν Ἰππῶνακτα συγκαλοῦντα τοὺς φιλολόγους.<sup>57</sup>

named in one or more Ionian cities? That this was the case at Cyzicus appears from Eupolis fr. 247,3 K.-A. *γυναιῖκ' ἐκίνουν κολλύβου καὶ παῖδα καὶ γέροντα*: we may say 'it didn't cost me a sou' even with reference to a country that has never used sous, but the affirmative 'I had them all for a sou' only if it happened in one that did. (Note too the reference to the characteristically Cyzicene stater in v. 1.) To be sure Callimachus may have found his *κόλλυβος* in comedy rather than Iambus, and the Athenians may have used the word idiomatically before they used the coin, but since by a generally accepted correction Ar. fr. 3 K.-A. parallels a price in *κόλλυβοι* to one in obols, we can hardly doubt that the word was used, at least in slang, for the *χαλκίον* of 406/5. L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>54</sup> Denniston 31f; Hughes 10,3 ("to reassert something which might be initially doubted"); Headlam on Herod. 6,101; Dover on Ar. Nu. 232; Collard on E. Supp. 570; Eup. fr. 76 K.-A.

<sup>55</sup> Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 411; Winiarczyk on Euhemerus T 1 A.

<sup>56</sup> Hughes 13–20. “*ἀνδρες* . . . is a common way for a man to address a group of men” (Dickey [1996] 26f; cf. 178–82; 202; 303f).

<sup>37</sup> On the reading of the papyrus and the term φιλόλογος, see Pfeiffer's notes, (1938) 70,6, and (1968) 156,3; D'Alessio 577,1; Hughes 19,49.

Line 6 will have begun ἀλλ' ὦ]νδρες, preparing δεῦτε (9).<sup>58</sup> There is no alternative to *penthemimeres* after νῦν, leaving one syllable to be supplied before ὦ]νδρες.

One could try *penthemimeres* and *hepthemimeres* after each of the three words (ὦ]νδρες, οἷ, and νῦν). Caesura after οἷ is impossible if it is the article or the relative; if one took it *per absurdum* as the personal pronoun with effective wau, *penthemimeres* is impossible because the third, and *hepthemimeres* because the seventh element would be long.

Possibilities are further narrowed down by the accent in the papyrus: νῦν has a long vowel. (The papyrus seems to be right: enclitic νύν, attested with short as well as long ν,<sup>59</sup> is usually found with an imperative,<sup>60</sup> and would hardly suit a relative clause.<sup>61</sup>) This excludes *penthemimeres* after ὦ]νδρες: *hepthemimeres* after νῦν would require short νύν.<sup>62</sup>

Two options remain: *hepthemimeres* after ὦ]νδρες, or *penthemimeres* after νῦν. Both times, νῦν would end up *in ancipiti*. Depending on whether it was followed by consonant or vowel, this might explain why its quantity was marked by an accent.<sup>63</sup> *Hepthemimeres* after ὦ]νδρες is excluded by the spacing as deduced from the certain supplements in 9–11. A line ending in ὦνδρες οἷ νῦν ὥς κέπφοι (with long νῦν) would be an ἰσχιορρωγικός<sup>64</sup> and break Porson's Law. *Penthemimeres* after νῦν seems to be the only possible solution.

<sup>58</sup> For ἀλλά: Denniston 14f. For δεῦτε without main verb: LSJ δεῦρο I.2c; cf. Thgn. 1041; Hippon. fr. 3a W. Ἐρμῇ κυνάγχα, μηιονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα, | φωρῶν ἑταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκαπαρδεύσαι, where the lexicographers do not consider σκαπαρδεύσαι.

<sup>59</sup> Archil. fr. 89,17 W.; LSJ νῦν II.

<sup>60</sup> K.-G. II 118. Archil. fr. 89,17; 113,9 W. (cf. 23,16).

<sup>61</sup> οἷ cannot be the article, because there is a main verb in the next line: κα]τηύλησθ(ε); perfect or pluperfect, as the accent in the papyrus shows (probably not perfect imperative). Apposition with article, idiomatic after forms of the personal pronoun (K.-G. I 602, Anm. 2), seems unlikely after the vocative ἄνδρες (despite Ar. *Ach.* 496, *Av.* 30).

<sup>62</sup> Thus, for reasons of metre and spacing, 6 cannot have begun ἀκούσατ' ὦνδρες or ἀκούετ' ὦνδρες (despite Puelma 219,1).

<sup>63</sup> However, ancient grammarians appear not to have distinguished the meaning of the two forms: Uhlig 99f on D.T. 643<sup>b</sup>13; Laum (1928) 238. Cf. the scholia on Il. I 421–2; II 681–5; III 97; V 812a; X 105; XXI 428a.b; XIII 274; 485c (with Erbse); Ruijgh (1957) 57–67, and (1971) 185f; 811–13; 842f.

<sup>64</sup> On ischiorrhogy, see above, Introduction, n. 46, and below, n. 215.

The tone of Hipponax' address is less than flattering. He is still the Iambic reviler.<sup>65</sup> κέπφοι are proverbial for their stupidity.<sup>66</sup> They also gather in large numbers:<sup>67</sup> compare the similes for the onslaught of the learned hordes in 26–8. κα]τηύλησθε, too, does not give the impression of an acute company: 'you are punch-drunk on poetry' (perhaps ὠδαῖς κα]τηύλησθ', οἱ μὲν οὖν Διω]νύσου, | οἱ δ' αὖ]τε Μουσέων)? Or 'piped down, ridiculed'?<sup>68</sup> (Ardizzoni's κα]τηύλιςθε gives a colourless reference to the scholars' abode.<sup>69</sup>)

In lines 9–11, Hipponax tells the scholars where to come: to "the shrine outside the walls". The sanctuary is identified in the *Diegesis* as τὸ Παρμενίωνος καλούμενον Σαραπίδειον (VI 3f). This temple is known from other sources.<sup>70</sup> Pfeiffer considered its identification with the Great Sarapeum in his note, but later argued against it:<sup>71</sup> the Great Sarapeum in Rhacotis was built by Ptolemy III Euergetes, who ascended the throne on 27 January 246. By this time, Euhemerus (10f) was probably long dead. An older sanctuary on the same site at Rhacotis could not be described as situated *extra muros*. If the *Diegesis* is right, the Sarapeum of Parmenio will have been one of the many unidentified sanctuaries outside the city.

<sup>65</sup> G. Zanker (1987) 160f; Depew (1992) 318.

<sup>66</sup> See Pfeiffer; Thompson (1895) 78; (1936) 137f; Kidd on Arat. 916; D'Alessio 579,9; Hughes 15. Nothing emerges from the Florentine scholia.

<sup>67</sup> Ardizzoni (1980) 146–50; he compares Aratus 916f: καί ποτε καὶ κέπφοι, ὅπότε εὐδίοι ποτέωνται | ἀντία μελλόντων ἀνέμων, εἰληδὰ φέρονται. Cf. Kidd's commentary; Pfeiffer I 504.

<sup>68</sup> LSJ II. *Suda* κ 840 Adler καταυλούμενοι· χλευαζόμενοι. ἀφηρέθησαν δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν τειχῶν γελάμενοί τε καὶ καταυλούμενοι; Porph. *Chr.* fr. 34. Hughes 15,27 compares E. *HF* 871 τάχα σ' ἐγὼ μάλλον χορεύσω καὶ καταυλήσω φόβῳ, but see Wilamowitz and Bond.

<sup>69</sup> Ardizzoni (1980) 145f; Hippon. fr. 16,2 W. With καταυλίζομαι, the perfect seems odd. Iotacism is rare in *POxy.* 1011. Ardizzoni gives the following reconstruction (148,8):

ἀλλ' ὦ]νδρες οἱ νῦν [ᾧστε μυρίοι] κέπφοι  
δόμῳ κα]τηύλιςθ' οἰμέ[οντες Δευ]νύσου  
καλῶν] τε Μουσέων φα[ιδίμου] τ' Ἀπόλλωνος.

7 δόμῳ too long. I do not understand οἰμέοντες. Ischiorrhogy is not acceptable: see above, Introduction, n. 46, and below, n. 215.

<sup>70</sup> Fraser I 270f; Pfeiffer; Cameron 224; D'Alessio 46,31. On the *Diegesis*: Dawson 8f (cf. Parsons, *ZPE* 25, 1977, 4f).

<sup>71</sup> Pfeiffer II xxxixf.

Rees refused to accept the topographical argument for lack of evidence,<sup>72</sup> and tried to resolve the chronological puzzle by referring the lines, not to Euhemerus himself, but to a statue.<sup>73</sup> Against Rees, Fraser supported Pfeiffer's topographical views,<sup>74</sup> but accepted the statue-theory as a possible answer to the chronological problem.<sup>75</sup> The question remains where Pfeiffer left it.<sup>76</sup> The reference to Euhemerus provides no evidence for the date of *Iambus* I.<sup>77</sup>

This, however, is clear: Hipponax appears in a real place. Callimachus sets his poem in contemporary Alexandria. The specificity of the opening address is matched by topographical precision.

Why should Callimachus choose this temple? Was it a νεκρομαντεῖον? Would an assembly of those learned throngs require more room than the city could offer? (Later, assemblies of the people took place in the hippodrome outside the walls.) The Sarapeum of Parmenio enshrined a statue of Zeus modelled on those same Homeric lines which were supposed to have inspired Phidias' statue of Olympian Zeus<sup>78</sup>—a link to *Iambus* VI?

The scholars meet at "the shrine outside the walls, where that old man who thought up Panchaeon Zeus of yore babbles and scribbles his impious books". This refers to Euhemerus of Messene and his *Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή*.<sup>79</sup> Earlier, Hipponax taunted

<sup>72</sup> Rees (1961) 1f.

<sup>73</sup> First suggested by Tarn (1933) 165; cf. Pfeiffer (1938) 7of,6. For the statues of Greek poets and philosophers in the Sarapeum at Memphis, see Winiarczyk on Euhemerus T 1 A, and P. Zanker (1995) 166f.

<sup>74</sup> Fraser I 27of.

<sup>75</sup> Fraser II 453,824. And yet, he claims that "the link with Euhemerus . . . indicates that this Serapeum cannot have been built by Euergetes" (I 271).

<sup>76</sup> Pace Clayman 11,2, who confusedly speaks of "the great Sarapeum of Parmeniscus" and fails to answer Fraser's topographical arguments. Cf. Herter (1973) 217,29-31.

<sup>77</sup> Pfeiffer (1938) 7of,6; Herter (1931) 426; (1937) 161f; (1973) 216; D'Alessio 46,31. Fraser thinks that the poem was written in Euhemerus' lifetime (I 292f; cf. II 453,824, on Schneider's conjecture βιβλί' ἔψηχε). Cf. Winiarczyk on Euhemerus T 1 A; Clayman 11,2; Meillier (1979) 202; Wimmel (1960) 123,3.

<sup>78</sup> Ps.-Callisth. I 33,13 (37,13-20 K.).

<sup>79</sup> Pace Tarn (1933) 163-6. Cf. Pfeiffer (1938) 7of,6. On Euhemerus, see Fraser I 289-92, and his bibliography at II 447,800. I quote from the Teubner edition of M. Winiarczyk, (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1991). On the Callimachean

the scholars; now, he mocks the notorious atheist, and sneers at his ἄδικα βιβλία (11).<sup>80</sup> Are they alike? Does this explain the choice of locale? Hipponax' tale will oppose the modesty of the Seven Sages to the scholars' feuds, the pretentious nonsense of Euhemerus to Thales' reverence for Apollo.<sup>81</sup>

The same contempt makes Hipponax describe Euhemerus as ἀλαζών (or λαλάζων), and his work as ψήχειν.<sup>82</sup>

ἀλαζών seems preferable to λαλάζων.<sup>83</sup> The indirect tradition has the former. True, in *POxy.* 1363, the trace preceding the first α does suggest λ.<sup>84</sup> (An easy corruption?) But the papyrus has also μακρόν and grave above the second α. The μακρόν remains obscure in either case; the grave does not suit λαλάζων. Finally, ἀλαζών is the *vox propria* for 'pretentious charlatan, boastful quack, swaggering sophist'<sup>85</sup>—a more pointed insult than mere 'prattling and babbling'.

Bentley's ψήχει for ψύχει is very attractive<sup>86</sup>—but what precisely does it mean?<sup>87</sup> Does it refer to the 'scratching' pen? To

passage (T 1 A W.; cf. 16; 23): H. F. van der Meer, *Euhemerus van Messene* (diss. Amsterdam 1949) 101–5 (*non vidi*); White, *TAPhA* 124, 1994, 144; Cameron 223; Hughes 19. Cf. *Ἰον.* 8f (T 2 with Winiarczyk), and fr. 202,15–17 (see below). Does the ἔκφρασις in *Iambus* VI parody Euhemerus' description of the temple of Zeus on Panchaea (T 37 W.)? For *Iambus* XI, cf. T 87–92 W.

<sup>80</sup> Euhemerus abused for atheism: T 14–23 W.; ridiculed for incompetence as a geographer: T 4–7. Whereas Greek Christians are among those who attack the ἄθεος (T 14f; 17–19; but not 20 Clem. Al.), Latin Christians present him as a serious historian unmasking polytheism (T 9–13; 21; esp. Lactantius: 28; 51f; 54; 56–9; 62; 64–7; 69f; 75). Cf. below, Ch. 9 n. 59.

<sup>81</sup> Bornmann (1986) 439; Depew (1992) 318.

<sup>82</sup> Transmitted are ψύχει, ψύχε, ψύχων. ψήχει Bentley; ψήχε Duebner; ψήχων Schneider; ψύττει Petit; ξύει Toup (cf. Herod. 3,18). See Pfeiffer's apparatus; Winiarczyk on T 1 A; Grenfell–Hunt on *POxy.* XI 1363.

<sup>83</sup> Pace Wilamowitz (1924) I 164,2, and Pfeiffer (1938) 70,6. D'Alessio 580,11 quotes Pi. O. 9,40 μὴ νῦν λαλάγει τὰ τοιαῦτα, i.e. frivolous stories about the gods. (Rather μὴ νυν? Sch.: μὴ τοῖνυν τὰ τοιαῦτα φλυάρει.)

<sup>84</sup> See *POxy.* XI, pl. VI.

<sup>85</sup> Frequently in Aristophanes and Plato; Eup. fr. 157 K.–A.: ἔνδον μὲν ἐστὶ Πρωταγόρας ὁ Τήσιος, | ὃς ἀλαζονεύεται μὲν ἀλιτήριος | περὶ τῶν μετεώρων, τὰ δὲ χαμᾶθεν ἐσθίει. Cf. Luc. *Gall.* 4 τὸν σοφιστὴν λέγεις, τὸν ἀλαζόνα; Steinmetz (1962) II 264f; Ribbeck (1882); MacDowell (1990); S. R. West, *ZPE* 102, 1994, 2,8; West (1997) 496.

<sup>86</sup> The same corruption in Hippon. fr. 84,17 W.

<sup>87</sup> LSJ ψήχω III translate "metaph., 'scribble'", quoting only this passage. For the 'heightened synonym', A. S. Hollis compares Herod. 2,102 βράζει.

the 'rubbed' writing-surface of the papyrus? To 'digging' into wax-tablets?<sup>88</sup> To writing on stone?

Looking back, the gibes begin already in 10. The line echoes Euhemerus' words: the name of Panchaeian Zeus, and the form *Zâna* (recalling the epitaph *ZAN KPONOY* on the Cretan tomb of Zeus).<sup>89</sup> *ὁ πλάσας*, too, contributes to this Euhemerean colouring. Euhemerus argues that the gods are, in Xenophanes' words, *πλάσματα τῶν προτέρων*.<sup>90</sup> Here, his words are turned against him: it is Euhemerus himself who is the impostor; the inventor of fictitious gods, like Zeus of Panchaea.<sup>91</sup>

Finally, the very fact of Hipponax' apparition may be designed to taunt Euhemerus. What were his views on afterlife? No traces survive.<sup>92</sup> His general attitude is rationalizing<sup>93</sup>—what will he have thought? It is tempting to conjecture: that there was none. If so, speculative rationalism is here refuted by supernatural experience.

From 12 to 25, only the middle section survives:

|                                 |    |
|---------------------------------|----|
| ]ι γὰρ ἐντὸς ου[                |    |
| ]άγη τις· ἡ πολ[                |    |
| ]ντα βωμοί τ[                   |    |
| ]ν πρὸς Ἀιδην[                  | 15 |
| ᾗ]δρες <sup>94</sup> ὀκόσοι βο[ |    |
| ]ηδοι Μούσα τ[                  |    |
| ]νον ὅστις ἐμ[                  |    |
| ]δε καὶ τὸν ὅς χ[               |    |
| ]ν εἰταίρην ατ[                 | 20 |

<sup>88</sup> For papyrus, cf. Catul. 1,1f (with Baehrens, Fordyce, and Quinn). For wax-tablets (*δέλτος*), cf. fr. 1,21f; 75,64–6; Batr. 1–3; Posidipp. *Suppl.Hell.* 705,6; Bing 18f. On both textual problems, see Rees (1961) 2f; cf. Fraser II 453,824.

<sup>89</sup> T 16; 69 W.; cf. Pfeiffer; Fraser II 453,822; 456f,840; D'Alessio 580,11. *Zâna* Dawson. According to Polemo of Ilium, Hipponax was the inventor of parody: Pfeiffer (1968) 249.

<sup>90</sup> T 8,5 W.; cf. T 26; 55,12; Fraser II 450f,815. Xenoph. fr. 1,22 W. with Feeney (1991) 7.

<sup>91</sup> On *πλάσμα*, 'fiction', as a term of literary criticism: Janko (1984) 48–52; Meijering (1987) 84–7; Feeney (1991) 31; 42. Cf. index III (*Sermo grammaticus*) in Erbse's edition of Sch.II. (vol. VI); Theodorus Prodromus, *Rhodanthe et Dosicles* III 312: τὸ πλάσμα φάσμα καὶ κκιᾶς ψευδῆς τύπος.

<sup>92</sup> I hesitate to press T 13; 28; 93 W.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. T 24 W.

<sup>94</sup> Or ᾧ]δρες: Dickey (1996) 202. Line 14 ]λι / αι / η? 19 ]κ / χ?



]ἰαμβον ὅστις[  
 ]χῶστις<sup>95</sup> τοῦς ν[  
 ]άμετρα τοις[  
 ]ν ὅστις τη[  
 π]ολλοῦς· ἐν[

25

γάρ (12) indicates a new sentence, as does the change of topic. The surviving words suggest a description of the temple area: the interior of the building (ἐντός 12), and the altars outside (βωμοί 14).<sup>96</sup> πρὸς Ἄιδην (15) remains obscure.<sup>97</sup>

“17 sqq. ad artem poeticam spectant”.<sup>98</sup> Note the words with literary associations: Μοῦσα 17, ἰαμβον 21, perhaps τετρ-/πεντ-/ἑξ]άμετρα 23 (others may be lost). Note also the frequency of indefinite pronouns (or similar expressions); they occur in almost every line: ὁκόσοι 16, ὅστις 18, καὶ τὸν ὅς 19, ὅστις 21, χῶστις 22, ὅστις 24 (again, more may have vanished). A list of people following various kinds of literary pursuits?<sup>99</sup> Who are they? Presumably those addressed in 6–8: in 26, it becomes clear that Hipponax is referring to those gathering around him.

There is a difficulty. The remains of 12–25 suggest an audience of poets (an Iambicist in 21?); compare the specialized poets of *Iambus XIII*. *Dieg.* VI 3 calls them scholars—but can one list scholars κατὰ γένη? The answer is: yes.<sup>100</sup> Which is correct? Both—the distinction seems artificial, and may not have been Callimachus’. The *Diegesis* simplifies. Hipponax’ audience, it appears, are ποιηταὶ ἅμα καὶ κριτικοί, with their respective special interests. Lines 16–25 contained a list of

<sup>95</sup> Maas (Parsons); ] ὥς τις Pfeiffer. There is a rising oblique high up, and a dot on the line, suggesting κ or χ. In this hand, the distance between the traces, and the slope of the oblique, favour χ. The accent marks the following enclitic, or the crasis (*POxy.* XI, pl. VI). <sup>96</sup> Clayman 12; Dawson 11; 13.

<sup>97</sup> “He swears appropriately by Hades” (Clayman 12). In the accusative?

<sup>98</sup> Pfeiffer. Cf. Dawson 11; 13; Puelma 218–21; Körte–Händel 99; Clayman 12.

<sup>99</sup> Howald–Staiger 319; Bornmann (1986) 437–40, esp. 437. He compares *Stat. Silv.* V 3,89–99 (the Seven Sages in 95; tragedy in 97), and suggests a reference to tragedy in 16 βολ[μβ, i.e. βόμβος, βομβεῖν (439; cf. *AP* V 222). 17 does not fit fr. 215 (439,1; *pace* Puelma 220). See below, on *Iambus* II 12f. Cf. D’Alessio 578,4, and 580,12; Hughes 19,49; 22f (on *Iambus* II 10–15, and XIII 30–2). ὅστις could be relative, not indefinite (below, n. 120). Here, cumulative evidence decides.

<sup>100</sup> Alexander Aetolus is said to have specialized in tragedy, Lycophron in comedy: Pfeiffer (1968) 119.

Hipponax' addressees, arranged according to their literary pursuits.

The opening part of the poem concludes with a vignette of epic imagery and Iambic frankness (26–30):<sup>101</sup>

ὦ πολλον, ὦ νδρες· ὡς | παρ' αἰπόλῳ μυῖαι  
ἢ κφῆκες | ἐκ γῆς ἢ ἀπὸ θύματος Δελφ[οί,  
εἰληδὸν [ἐς] | μεύουσιν |.<sup>102</sup> ὦ Ἐκάτη πλήθευς.  
ὁ φιλοκόρσις τὴν πνιὸν ἀναλῶσει  
φυκέων. ὅκλωσ μὴ τὸν τρίβωνα γυμνώσει.<sup>103</sup> 30

The dramatic situation is created with supreme economy. Characterization is subtle. On ὦ Ἐκάτη πλήθευς (28), the Florentine scholia remark (26–8): εὖ τὸ τῆς Ἐ[κάτης] ὄνομα ἐπιμνησθῆναι τὸν Ἰ[ππώνα]κτα φθιτὸν ὄντα· χθονία γὰρ ἡ [Ἐκάτη].<sup>104</sup>

The scholars have arrived. The excitement calms down and gives way to attentive expectation. Hipponax asks his audience for silence, and tells them to take notes (31):<sup>105</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Pfeiffer; Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79; Dawson 13 on 27f. In 26, *POxy.* 1363,22 has νδρες. Next to ὦ πολλον, this will be nominative. On ἀπό (27), see Dawson 13; Smiley, *CR* 2, 1952, 187: “bystanders jostled ‘after’ the rite for shares in the meat”. Cf. Tucker (1987) 74f; Hughes 23–6. On crowds: fr. 2,2 (with Massimilla on 4,2); Theoc. 15,44; Kassel–Austin on Cratin. fr. 2.

<sup>102</sup> [ὄρ]μεύουσιν Ardizzoni (1960) 18. εἰληδὸν is a Homeric ἀπαξ: ἱλαδόν II. II 93 (cf. Hes. *Op.* 285); Hdt. I 172,1; Q.S. I 7; 175; II 373; 397; III 360; 660; VI 643; VII 113; 139; IX 168; (XI 115); XIII 136; 556; XIV 52; *Suppl.Hell.* 253,1 εἰλεῦνται; Ardizzoni (1980) 149f; Kidd on Arat. 917.

<sup>103</sup> Freudenburg (1993) 104 compares Hor. *S.* I 4,19–21. Diller (1962) 121 punctuates after φυκέων, but takes γυμνώσει as 2nd pers. sg.: “Ziehe dir nur nicht vor Eile deinen Mantel aus!” Cf. Korzeniewski (1970) 390,21; 402,53. However, throughout these lines, Hipponax talks about the scholars in 3rd pers.; cf. the Florentine scholia: ὅπως μὴ γυμνώσει αὐτὸν τοῦ τρίβωνος. Clayman thinks that this is a Cynic philosopher, that Hipponax poses as a Cynic diatribist, and that *Iambus* I as a whole is a parody of Cynic diatribe (12f; 16); cf. Falivene (1993). The τρίβων: Herod. 2,23 with Headlam and Cunningham; Ar. *V.* 33 with Starkie and MacDowell. Note the Florentine scholia on φυκέων; Ardizzoni (1960) 19f; West (1974) 80. On hyper-Ionicism: Headlam on Herod. 2,80; V. Schmidt 34–6; 133.

<sup>104</sup> Hughes 27f. Hecate guards the gates of Hades (Heckenbach [1912] 2773) and sends up φαντάσματα (*E. Hel.* 569 with Kannicht). She is associated with Asia Minor (Nilsson [1967] 722–5; West on Hes. *Th.* 404–52). On her visit to the eponymous hero Ephesus, see fr. 461 (cf. 466).

<sup>105</sup> Lecture notes: Ar. *V.* 538; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 228. Kassel, *RhM* 112, 1969, 100 compares Ar. *Ra.* 151. Jokes about books and writing: Dover on Ar. *Ra.*, pp. 34f; Falivene (1993) 921–4.

σωπὴ γενέσθω | καὶ γράφεσθε τὴν ῥῆσιν.

The stage is set for his new Iambus.

This, then, is the dramatic frame of Hipponax' performance (closed in 78–98). The situation raises various questions. I shall begin with a matter of detail. Is the opening line a quotation from Hipponax, or Callimachean imitation?<sup>106</sup> Pfeiffer offers three arguments against Hipponactean authorship:

(i) The ancient metrical writers quote the line as an example of the scazon from Callimachus.<sup>107</sup>

(ii) Callimachus never copies whole lines without alteration.<sup>108</sup>

(iii) οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά is Attic and post-Attic.<sup>109</sup>

These arguments are of unequal strength.

(i) Although the line is found in Callimachus and quoted under his name, he could still have taken it from Hipponax. However, while there are instances when Callimachus is not named, the line is never ascribed to anyone else. Hipponax is never mentioned.

(ii) Callimachus never copies—but here, Hipponax himself is speaking.<sup>110</sup> Did the quotation serve as a foil for the unexpected continuation?<sup>111</sup> Again, there is nothing to turn this possibility into likelihood.

(iii) οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά is labelled 'Attic' in the scholia on Aristophanes. Here, Pfeiffer is less convincing. The scholia call 'Attic' whatever differs from the κοινή.<sup>112</sup> In fact, οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά is

<sup>106</sup> Bibliography: Lehnus 123; Degani on Hippon. fr. 187 *dubium*, and (1984) 241–3; Meillier (1979) 320,39; Ardizzoni (1960) 6–10, at 7, and (1985) 277; D'Alessio 579,6. I have not seen A. Cavarzere, *Sul limitare. Il 'motto' e la poesia di Orazio* (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino 47, Bologna 1996), 58–64.

<sup>107</sup> Pfeiffer; cf. fr. 1,2 and 20 with Pfeiffer, and (1928) 310; 336,1.

<sup>108</sup> Pfeiffer, *Gnomon* 2, 1926, 309; Jung (1929) 51f; Herter (1937) 158f, and 163. Cf. fr. 195,22 with Pfeiffer (= Archil. fr. 329 *spurious* W.); Degani on Hippon. fr. 187 *dubium*; Herter (1973) 216,57–9.

<sup>109</sup> Pfeiffer (1933) 268f. Denniston 31 accepted οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά (and the verse) for Hipponax.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Herter (1929) 52; 54–7.

<sup>111</sup> For attempts to combine other Hipponactean fragments with this line, see Degani on Hippon. fr. 187 *dubium*.

<sup>112</sup> Rosenkranz (1964).

ἀκουσον, εἴτ' Ἀσσύριος εἴτε καὶ Μῆδος  
εἰς ἣ Κοραξός, ἥ πὸ τῶν ἄνω λιμνῶν  
(C)ιδὸς κομήτης· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλὰ κηρύσσω.

There are other instances where Phoenix and Callimachus both appear to draw on Hipponax.<sup>118</sup> Compare *Iambus* I 32–6 (ἀνὴρ Βαθυκλῆς Ἀρκάς . . . τῶν πάλαι τις εὐδαίμων | ἐγένετο) with Phoen. fr. 1,1f P.:<sup>119</sup>

Compare also *Iambus* I 66–8:

with Phoen. fr. 4 P.:<sup>120</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Hp. Art. 69 (II 222,19 Kühlewein); Degani on Hippon. fr. 187 *dubium*.

<sup>115</sup> Phoen. fr. 1, 13–15 P. For ἀκουσον/ἀκούσατε, see above, n. 52.

<sup>116</sup> Fraser II 103of,136; Cameron (1992) 307. Pausanias (I 9,7) notes that Phoenix bewailed the destruction of Colophon by Lysimachus. This event should be dated to 302 or 294 (Fraser II 883f,61), not to 287–1 (Keydell [1975], following Rohde [1914] 80,1).

<sup>117</sup> Pace Pfeiffer, and Cameron 173. Cf. Hippon. fr. 2, and 2a W. (*Κοραξικὸν μὲν ἡμφιεσμένη λῶπος / Συνδικὸν διάσφαγμα*); Degani (1984) 296, 37.

<sup>118</sup> Pfeiffer on fr. 191,32 and 67; Fraser II 1031,137. Cf. Hippon. fr. 58 W. with Herod. 2,80 and Phoen. fr. 2,2 P.

119 Hughes 153.

<sup>120</sup> See Powell; for *ὀνήϊστος*, cf. D.L. I 28 (Pfeiffer on fr. 191,32). For *τίς relativum* in I 67, cf. *ὅστις relativum* in 59; fr. 192,16; Phoen. fr. 1,2, and 4,1 P.; Pfeiffer on fr. 85,14. Thales' knowledge of astronomy: below, n. 180. *ἰδρις* pro *ὅστις* conii. De Stefani, *Eikasmos* 2, 1991, 197f.

Both fragments of Phoenix may echo Hipponax. Fr. 4 probably does: Hipponax himself seems to have told the story of the Cup of Bathycles.<sup>121</sup>

οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά, it has emerged, is Ionic. Among the Iambic poets, Phoenix shares it with Herodas and Callimachus. The passage of Phoenix closely resembles the opening lines of Callimachus' first *Iambus*. Both seem to look back to Hipponax. It is likely that οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά was in Hipponax, too.

Does this mean that the line is Hipponax', after all? It does not. Pfeiffer's points (i) and (ii) still stand. This line is not original Hipponax, but Hipponactean pastiche. The concentration of mannerisms is too good to be true. Callimachus parodies the father of parody, Ἰππωνακτίζων κρείσσονως Ἰππώνακτος.

At this point, the question of detail gains interest: it turns into a question of Callimachus and his models. For Pfeiffer, οὐ γὰρ ἀλλά is one of the many comic elements of this poem.<sup>122</sup> He compares the opening lines with the start of Euripides' *Hecuba*: "Callimachus ad exemplum comoediae Atticae . . . παρατραγωδεῖ". How important is the model of comedy?

Hipponax' ἀνάβασις has comic antecedents—although the relationship is perhaps rather general.<sup>123</sup> The language of line 1, I have argued, is Hipponactean. However, the resemblance with the *Hecuba* is striking.<sup>124</sup> ἦκω occurs frequently as implicit stage direction in tragedy,<sup>125</sup> and through its use in pro-

<sup>121</sup> Hippon. fr. 63 and 123 W. refer to the ἐπὶ τὰ σοφοί; πελλίς (also in Phoen. fr. 5 P.) is a Hipponactean gloss (fr. 13 and 14 W.). Cf. Jung (1929) 35f; 53; Herter (1937) 163; Dawson 24; Fraser II 1033, 160; Depew (1992) 319; Hughes 28f; 145.

<sup>122</sup> Pfeiffer on 1; 6; 27; 29; 35; 78; 82; 97; Cozzoli (1996) 141, 47; Hunter (1997) 50f. Impossible to say how much of this was in the Iambic tradition.

<sup>123</sup> See above, following n. 37, and cf. n. 53; Cozzoli (1996) 141; D'Alessio 578, 5. I have not seen O. Vox, 'Sul Giambo I di Callimaco', *Rudiae* 7, 1995, 275–87.

<sup>124</sup> E. *Hec.* 1f: ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ κρότου πύλας | λιπών, ἔν' Αἰδης . . . (ghost of Polydorus). Cf. West (1997) 156–8; 158–62.

<sup>125</sup> Griffith (1977) 118f; 318, 73; 319, 74f. A. *Ag.* 258 (Chorus); *Ch.* 838 (Aegisthus); *Eu.* 236 (Orestes); *Pr.* 284 (Oceanus); S. *Ant.* 988 (Tiresias and boy); E. *Alc.* 614 (Pheres); *Med.* 866 (Jason). Cf. A. *Pers.* 159 (Queen, ἰκάνω); *Ch.* 22 (Chorus, ἔβαν); *Eu.* 251 (Chorus, ἤλθον); *Pr.* 130 (Chorus, προσέβα); S. *OT* 515 (Creon, πάρειμι); E. *Med.* 214 (Medea, ἐξήλθον); *El.* 167 (Chorus, ἤλυθον); *Tr.* 176 (Chorus, ἔλιπον). Gods and ghosts: A. *Pers.* 692 (Darius); *Eu.*

logues,<sup>126</sup> it comes to be associated with ghosts and other supernatural visitants.<sup>127</sup> ἦκω . . . φέρων is almost formulaic.<sup>128</sup>

And yet, when the ghost of Polydorus appears in Euripides, the situation is very different. His apparition is not an ἀνάβας. He hovers between the two worlds, because he has not yet received proper burial. He has left the one without entering the other. He is ἄκλαυτος and ἄταφος (30; 47–50). His shadow appears to Hecuba in a dream (54). Later in the play, his corpse will be found and buried (658–83). His predicament is that of Patroclus and Elpenor.<sup>129</sup>

Patroclus, Elpenor, and Polydorus are not yet proper inhabitants of Hades. Their appearances are no ἀναβάσεις. Callimachus' Hipponax is a different case.

The style of Callimachus' opening lines is that of Hipponactean Iambus. Hipponax' ἀνάβας recalls scenes from tragedy and comedy. His meeting with the scholars, I shall now argue, has an epic model.

The scholars, hurrying towards the Sarapeum, are fascinated (9–30). What they witness is, strictly speaking, an ἀδύνατον.<sup>130</sup> Hipponax appears without νεκρομαντεία. His is a reverse κατάβας, an ἀνάβας. And it reverses, not just the type, but a particular example: Homer's νέκυια.

403 (Athena, ἡλθον); 576 (Apollo, ἡλθον); S. *Ph.* 1413 (Heracles). Departures: e.g. E. *Alc.* 74; 730. Stage directions: Taplin (1977a) and (1977b).

<sup>126</sup> A. *Ch.* 3 (Orestes) with Garvie.

<sup>127</sup> E. *Ba.* 1 (Dionysus) with Dodds; *Hec.* 1 (Polydorus); *Tr.* 1 (Poseidon); *Ion* 5 (Hermes). Cf. S. *Polyxena* fr. 523 R. (ghost of Achilles, probably the prologue); Sen. *Ag.* (ghost of Thyestes), esp. 1f with Tarrant, and his introductory note on the prologue at pp. 158f; *Thy.* (ghost of Tantalus). Tragic ἀναβάσεις: Apul. *Met.* I 8.

<sup>128</sup> A. *Th.* 40 (messenger) with Hutchinson; E. *Or.* 854 (messenger); 1628 (Apollo); *IA* 1536 (refers to messenger); S. *El.* 666 (pedagogue); *Ph.* 1267 (Neoptolemus); cf. A. *Ch.* 659 (Orestes).

<sup>129</sup> Patroclus' burial is postponed (Il. XVIII 333–42, esp. 333–5), his body preserved by Thetis (XIX 23–39). He remains unburied (XXII 386f), appears to Achilles in a dream (XXIII 65–107, esp. 69–74), and says that he will not be able to appear again after burial (ibid. 75f). Elpenor: Od. XI 51–4; 66–78, esp. 72; XII 8–15; see Heubeck's notes. At A. *Eu.* 94–139, Clytaemestra's ghost appears, because she is still waiting to be avenged. Cf. West (1997) 165; 186f; 344f; 416. For 'tomb and mourning', see also S. *Ant.* 26–30; Reiner (1938); Alexiou (1974).

<sup>130</sup> AP IX 575.4.

Consider 26–31, especially the epic similes likening the gathering scholars to flies, wasps, and greedy Delphians (26–8). The Florentine scholia (10–13) compare two similes from the *Iliad*.<sup>131</sup> There, gathering warriors resemble *μυῖαι* and *σφήκες*. The insect-similes evoke notions of troublesome throngs.<sup>132</sup>

The scholars resemble not only the warriors of the *Iliad*. They are also like the dead of the *Odyssey*. They hover around Hipponax like the spirits around Odysseus in the Homeric *νέκυνια*; and like Tiresias, Hipponax offers them wisdom.<sup>133</sup>

What is gained by this comparison? Hipponax returns from Hades, and breaks through the barrier between then and now. He presents himself as a figure of the past, a literary classic: as the Iambicist fighting Bupalus (3f).<sup>134</sup> But this old poet becomes an active part of the present. He enters a world precisely defined in time and space. The scholars, Euhemerus, the sanctuary—this is the world of Callimachus.<sup>135</sup> He mocks ‘you, οἱ νῦν . . .’,<sup>136</sup> and shakes his head over οἶοι νῦν βροτοί εἶναι. The vivacity of this dead poet takes the living by surprise, and contrasts sharply with the insubstantial spectres of Homer’s *νέκυνια*. This is not just a dream. Hipponax is truly and really there.<sup>137</sup> He has to go back, there is not much time (33–5).<sup>138</sup> This sense of urgency matches the abrupt start of the poem.<sup>139</sup> The

<sup>131</sup> Il. II 469–71; XVI 259–65. *μυῖαι* eat corpses: XIX 23–31. Cf. Triph. 533–41. D’Alessio 581, 13.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Il. XVI 641–3; Puelma 213; Falivene (1993) 917–19; Hughes 24f; West (1997) 249 (and 162f: the dead compared to birds). Delphian brutality recurs at the end of *Iambus* II; cf. Ar. fr. 705 K.–A.; *TrGF* I 20 F 12f; D’Alessio 581, 14.

<sup>133</sup> On εἰληδὸν ἐσμεύουσιν, cf. the dead in Od. XI 34–43 and 632f; to ἔθνεα νεκρῶν, cf. μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλά (Il. II 469), ἄγρια φύλα, ἡ μυίας (XIX 30f); B. 5, 63–7; S. fr. 879 R. βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμήνος ἔρχεται τ’ ἄνω; Verg. *A.* VI 309–14 with Norden. Bergson (1986); Kassel (1958a) 236 compares Ar. *Av.* 294f; Bing 66. Cf. West (1997) 162f; 416. For other parodies of Homer’s *νέκυνια*, see above, n. 26. On Tiresias: Pl. *Men.* 100A.

<sup>134</sup> Ar. *Lys.* 361; *Ra.* 661; cf. Jung (1929) 5; 24; Fraser I 733; II 1031, 138, 141; Bing 65–7; Hughes 12, 15.

<sup>135</sup> G. Zanker (1987) 160f; Hughes 19f.

<sup>136</sup> Clayman 12; Hughes 15.

<sup>137</sup> *Pace* Clayman 11f.

<sup>138</sup> Below, n. 159. This is no case of ‘reincarnation’ (*pace* Clayman 11; 55f; but compare the “ghost of Hipponax” on p. 16); see Herter (1937) 163.

<sup>139</sup> Hutchinson 51; Cozzoli (1996) 130.

ἀδύνατον of his presence, and the seriousness of his appeal, raise expectations. What will Hipponax have to say?

Hipponax does not simply repeat his old songs. He is aware of the new age, and he has new things to offer. For all the traditional rumbustiousness of Hipponax' Iambic persona, there is important change.<sup>140</sup> His new Iambus is different. It will not continue the μάχη Βουπάλειος (3f). What is to take its place? No further μάχαι? Different ones? The relevant passage is lost,<sup>141</sup> but the answer is not difficult to guess.

Firstly, we have his new Iambus (in 32–77, and the *Diegesis*). Here, in the story of the Cup of Bathycles, Hipponax advocates peacefulness. If there is to be any μάχη, it is fighting cantankerousness.<sup>142</sup>

Secondly, a note from the scholia on Hephaestion:<sup>143</sup>

ἱαμβος δὲ οὐ πᾶς ἐστὶ λοιδόρος, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ καὶ εὐσεβής· ἐν κωμωδία μὲν γὰρ στωμύλλεται καὶ λοιδορεῖ, ἐν δὲ τραγωδία πενθεῖ, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ ὕμνοι γράφονται τούτῳ, ὥστε καὶ εὐσεβής. παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ δὲ καινὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ ὥς

φέρων ἱαμβον οὐ μάχην ἀείδοντα  
τὴν Βουπάλειον.

The passage deals with the character of the iambic metre. By implication, the change ascribed to Callimachus is a change of character.<sup>144</sup>

Content and concern are new. But this is not just *neuer Wein in alten Schläuchen*.<sup>145</sup> The Iambic form has changed as well.

The most striking formal innovation is perhaps the frame setting the scene for Hipponax' tale. Here, performance is no longer an external reality. Instead, the poem creates the

<sup>140</sup> Missed by Cameron 372. Cf. Dawson 22 with n. 20; Macleod (1973) 306; Degani (1984) 49f; Cozzoli (1996) 129; Hunter (1997) 47f; Hughes 11–13; Konstan (forthcoming).

<sup>141</sup> Puelma 210; Howald–Staiger 317; Körte–Händel 98.

<sup>142</sup> Jung (1929) 24; Dawson 22; Clayman 55–61.

<sup>143</sup> 116,10–16 Consbruch; Bühler (1964) 231.

<sup>144</sup> The vagueness of the scholium (δοκεῖ), and the fact that the quotation stops where it does, suggest that there was no positive statement. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* I 19,23–5 (Dawson 11; Cameron 169f; below, Conclusion, n. 24); Babr. *Prol.* I 14–19; II 13–16 (Puelma 211; Kiessling–Heinze on Hor. *Epod.* 6,11 for the Iambicist's 'teeth'). Macleod (1973) 305–7, and (1977), esp. 367–72; Bowie (1986) 25 on elegy; Hughes 12,17 compares Stesich. fr. 210 P., and *Anacreont.* 2,1 W.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Herter (1931) 426,60–7.



illusion of its own performance.<sup>146</sup> Callimachus uses this quasi-dramatic quality to remarkable effect. On the surface, the traditional opposition of Iambic ἐγώ against the addressee(s) is preserved intact. Hipponax harangues the scholars. *Rollenpoesie* is also found among archaic Iambi.<sup>147</sup> What is not found, is the author turning up on the other side of the fence. The list of addressees (16–25) seems to have comprised all kinds of scholar-poets κατὰ γένη.<sup>148</sup> Individuals were not named. This generality invites us to find the author among Hipponax' audience.<sup>149</sup> Iambicists are explicitly mentioned (21). Callimachus, it seems, includes himself among the victims of this poem.<sup>150</sup>

If true, this indicates a fundamental change of attitude. By a formal sleight of hand, Iambic criticism has (here) turned conciliatory. The Iambicist corrects himself as well as others. Callimachus acts as Hipponax preaches, and ingeniously surpasses the mordant speaker of this poem. Hipponax is at the same time the vehicle of satire and its victim. It is to his Iambic αἶνος that I now turn.

After the scholars have gathered, Hipponax 'forbids them to bear envy towards each other': ἤκουσι δ' αὐτοῖς κατ' εἶλας ἀπαγορεύει φθονεῖν ἀλλήλοισι (*Dieg.* VI 4–6). The summary is accurate. It reflects the lively scene mirrored in the similes (26–8), and echoes the very words of the poem (εἰληδὸν [ές]μεύουσιν 28). In addition, the *Diegesis* offers interpretation. The account of Hipponax' tale (λέγων 6) is headed by a statement of its moral (ἀπαγορεύει 5): a condemnation of strife.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>146</sup> See esp. 26–31. Cf. Bulloch on *Lav. Pall.*, p. 5; Friedländer (1931) 35f; Körte-Händel 98; G. Zanker (1987) 160f; Albert (1988) 79f, and 279 (index); Depew (1992) 317; 321–3; below, Conclusion, n. 109.

<sup>147</sup> Archil. fr. 19 W.; Wilamowitz on E. *HF*, I 87f; Dover (1964) 205–8; West (1974) 32f; Bowie (1986) 16f. Attacking a group, though, looks more like Callimachus than Hipponax (Hughes 15–17).

<sup>148</sup> See above, n. 100. The *Diegesis* simply refers to τοὺς φιλολόγους (VI 3); cf. Herter (1937) 163.

<sup>149</sup> Pace Körte-Händel 98; Hutchinson 51. Cf. Falivene (1993) 925.

<sup>150</sup> Callimachus is not posturing as *Hipponax redivivus* (pace Hughes 13; Clayman 56f; Trypanis 104,a; Fraser I 735; Hunter [1997] 50; see Bing 66,26; Herter [1937] 163; Suerbaum [1968] 86f, esp. 87,269). On forms of satire: Richardson, *Clarissa*, Letter 69.

<sup>151</sup> Bornmann (1986) 439; above, n. 81. Contrast the good Eris of Hes. *Op.* 25f.

Hipponax himself spells out the *fabula docet* only at the end of his *aĩnoc*.<sup>152</sup> The subject of his story is the Cup of Bathycles: left by its owner to the wisest of the Seven Sages, refused and sent on by each, until it returns to the hands of its first recipient, Thales, who finally dedicates it to Apollo.<sup>153</sup>

Hipponax begins with Bathycles on his deathbed, surrounded by his sons (32–51, where the text breaks off). He has hardly started when he interrupts himself (32–7):

ἀνὴρ Βαθυκλή|ς Ἀρκιάς—οὐ μακρὴν ἄξω,  
ὦ λῶστε, μὴ κίμαι|νε, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτός  
μέγα χολάζ[ω]| δ[ε]ί|με γὰρ μέσον δινεῖν  
φεῦ φ]εῦ<sup>154</sup> Ἀχέρο[ντ]ος—τῶν πά|λαι τις εὐδαίμων  
ἐγένετο, π[ά]ν[τα] δ' εἶ|χεν οἷσιν ἄνθρωποι  
θεοί τε λευκάς ἡμέρας ἐπί|στανται.<sup>155</sup> 35

<sup>152</sup> Below, at n. 198. The word *aĩnoc* does not occur in the extant parts of *Iambus* I, but cf. IV 6. Arist. *Rh.* II 20,9 (παράδειγμα); Hor. *S.* II 3,320; *Ep.* I 7,34 (*imago*); Quint. *Inst.* V 11, 19. West on Hes. *Op.* 202 (*aĩnoc*, proverb, and fable), and p. 387 (General Index s.v. 'fable'); Fraenkel (1920), and (1951); Dover (1997) 57–78; West (1997) 319f; 502–5. Cf. Hutchinson 51f; Cozzoli (1996) 141–4; Hughes 103f; 145–7; 158–66. Archibald (1912) 8. *aĩnoi* occur in the fragments of Archilochus (e.g. fr. 174,1; 185,1 W.; Philostr. *Jun. Im.* I 3; Archibald [1912] 43–57; Karadagli [1981] 13f), but so far not in those of Hipponax (Fraser I 744; Bühler [1964] 232f).

<sup>153</sup> *Stoffgeschichte*: Bohren (1867) 48–56; Wulf (1896) 11–29; Kuiper (1916); Wiersma (1933–4); Yoshida (1965); Cameron 167f; D'Alessio 582,17; Hunter (1997) 48. See also Barkowski (1923), esp. 43–8 on the lists, and 48–51 on the ἀγών; Snell (1954) 105–11; Fehling (1985). Hellenistic interest: Demetrius of Phaleron fr. 114 Wehrli, and Hermippus ὁ Καλλιμάχειος fr. 5–16 Wehrli; *Suppl. Hell.* 504–26. Cf. Richter (1965) I 81–91; Richter-Smith (1984) 196–8; P. Zanker (1995) 68; 201: "In den Terme dei Sapienti in Ostia gaben die würdig dozierenden Weisen sogar gute Ratschläge für Verdauung und Stuhlgang." For Callimachus' source Leandr(i)us of Miletus, see *FGrH* 492 F 18; Pfeiffer on 32, and on fr. 88; Bux (1924); Laqueur (1928) 535; Wendel (1935); Cameron 222. Cf. Gerhard (1909) 194–7; 228–84; Karadagli (1981) 34f; Hughes 145–7. The story may have been in Hipponax: above, n. 121. (This would argue against Fehling's late date for a canon of the Seven Sages; cf. Rösler [1991] 357f.) At Pl. *Tim.* 20DE, Solon is the wisest.

<sup>154</sup> Too long. Ardizzoni (1960) 18 suggests λυγρ]οῦ; cf. Herter (1937) 163. ὄχλ]ου Ingrams; λιμ]έ(ν)(α) Kuiper; τηλ]οῦ Schmid; ἐκ τ]οῦ Crusius; ἄν]ευ Bartoletti, *SIFC* 10, 1933, 177f. Cf. West (1997) 155f.

<sup>155</sup> Eup. fr. 182 K.–A. λευκὴ ἡμέρα· ἡ ἀγαθή, καὶ ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη. Cf. Pfeiffer on fr. 178,2; Broadhead on A. *Pers.* 386; Pearson on S. fr. 6; Hippon. fr. 47,1 W. (all meaning [every] day as opposed to night, not some days as opposed to

Self-interruption and frequent parentheses are characteristic of Iambic style.<sup>156</sup> Here, Hipponax' reaction to the response of his audience creates a sense of situation and drama.<sup>157</sup> The scholars' peevishness and jaded cynicism contrast poignantly with the seriousness and pathos of the old poet:<sup>158</sup> it is he who has no time to waste—Hades is calling.<sup>159</sup>

Hipponax strikes a balance between briskness of tone and dignity of topic. His tale, homely and familiar, takes his audience into the realm of legend and times long ago;<sup>160</sup> to the Arcadians, a fairy-tale people older than the moon.<sup>161</sup> Faerie and pathos blend in the description of Bathycles' perfect

others). D'Alessio 582,18. Cf. also LSJ *φάος* II; Catul. 8,3.8; 68,148; 107,6. Why *ἐπίστανται*? Psilosis of *ἐφίστανται*, 'appoint themselves a holiday'?

<sup>156</sup> Pfeiffer; Puelma 316–18; Bühler (1964) 245f. Cf. lines 39 and 41.

<sup>157</sup> Above, n. 146; Bühler (1964) 245; Hughes 25f. Freudenburg (1993) 104 compares Hor. *S.* I 1,14, and 95 (Kassel, *RhM* 112, 1969, 100). *ὦ λῶστε* ironical: Dickey (1996) 128; 143; 281.

<sup>158</sup> Ardizzoni (1980) 151f; Hutchinson 51: "grim humour and sudden pathos". Hardly "the atmosphere of a true street diatribe" (Clayman 13). Apul. *Met.* II 29: *alii mendacio cadaveris fidem non habendam*. For *μέρον* heightening the pathos, cf. Sen. *Thy.* 72f *alveo medius tuo*, | *Phlegethon, relinquer igneo cinctus freto* ('I'd rather be in hell'). Wrinkling one's nose in disgust: Sittl (1890) 86f; cf. Gow (1951); Macleod (1977) 375,85. In Klopstock's *Gelehrtenrepublik*, among the penalties is *das Naserümpfen* (chapter *Von den Strafen*, and *passim*). Erotic associations of *εἰμός*: Headlam on Herod. 1,89; Gow on Theoc. 2,101. Cf. below, Ch. 4 n. 1; Hippon. fr. 118,1 W. (*εἰλλαίει* is palaeographically inferior: there is a continuous stroke where one should see the two *λ*s join; see *POxy.* XI, pl. VI. Cf. Herod. 4,67, with Headlam and Cunningham.)

<sup>159</sup> Hughes 28. Short leave from Hades: A. *Pers.* 692; Hor. *S.* II 5,109f (with Kiessling-Heinze); Prop. IV 7,91f; Verg. *A.* V 738f; Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.*, pp. 158f; on 2 *emissus*; on 56. Ghosts: Nilsson (1967) 182–4; Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 496; Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 1490–3. Cf. the article 'Geister (Dämonen)' in *RAC* IX (Stuttgart 1976), 546–797 (J. ter Vrugt-Lentz, 'Vorhellenistisches Griechenland', 598–615, esp. 610–12; C. Colpe, 'Synkretismus in Ägypten', 615–25; C. Zintzen, 'Hellenistische und kaiserzeitliche Philosophie', 640–68). Vengeful revenants: ter Vrugt-Lentz (above); J. H. Waszink, 'Biothanati', *RAC* II (Stuttgart 1954), 391–4. Pl. *Phd.* 81 cd. Is Hipponax whirling around in Acheron, while more respectable poets enjoy the company of the blest? Cf. *IG* XII.5, 62,7f = *GVI* 1297,7f (Naxos, 1st cent. BC; cf. *GVI* 970,7f): *ναίω δ' οὐκ Ἀχέροντος ἐφ' ὕ[δ]ραϊν, οὐδὲ κελαιὸν | Τάρταρον, ἀλλὰ [δ]όμ[ου]ς ἐ[ὕ]κε[β]έων ἐλαχον*.

<sup>160</sup> 35 *τῶν πάλαι τις*. Cf. below, Ch. 2 n. 4.

<sup>161</sup> 56 *ὁ Προυέληνος*, with Pfeiffer; D'Alessio 584f,24.

εὐδαιμονία (35–7).<sup>162</sup> He is a model of πῶς δεῖ ζῆν, an example of human happiness, and a foil to the scholars' way of life. Hipponax' tale begins with a man who acknowledges wisdom in others that he is not claiming for himself.

Bathycles lies on his deathbed,<sup>163</sup> gathering his sons around him (38–42):<sup>164</sup>

ἤδη καθίκε[ιν οὗτ]ος ἡνίκ' ἤμελλεν<sup>165</sup>  
 ἐς μακρὸν [.....]—καὶ γὰρ εἰς ὅς ἐζώσε—, 40  
 τῶν '.....[.....]<sup>166</sup> τοὺς μὲν ἔνθα, τοὺς δ' ἔνθα  
 ἔστῃσε τοῦ κλιντήρος—εἶχε γὰρ δεσμ[ό]ς<sup>167</sup>—  
 μέλλοντας ἤδη παρθένοισ ἀλινδεῖσθαι.<sup>168</sup>

Again, Iambic frankness marks a moving contrast: the old man tied to his bed by gout,<sup>169</sup> his sons of an age παρθένοισ ἀλινδεῖσθαι.<sup>170</sup> No trace of 'Alexandrian eroticism' here; no

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Hughes 153; Ardizzoni (1980) 152–5. ἄνθρωποι | θεοί τε (36f): 'every living soul'. For opposites expressing totality, see Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 229–31 (with literature).

<sup>163</sup> *Dieg.* VI 6f τελευτῶν.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. the deathbed scene at Hor. *S.* II 3, 168–81 (with Muecke).

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Reinsch-Werner (1976) 173–6, at 174.

<sup>166</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus. Cf. Cerc. fr. 7, 16f P.: βιοτᾶς | εὐρὺν ποτὶ τέρματος οὐδόν. ἐς μακρὸν [ὄχθον] (sc. Ἀχέροντος) Livrea, *ZPE* 34, 1979, 46; [ῥπνον] Trypanis (comparing *AP* VII 91,4; Lattimore [1942] 164f). Ardizzoni (1960) 15–18 proposes:

ἐς μακρὸν [οὐρον.] καὶ γὰρ εἰς ῥπα]ς ἐζώσε,  
 τῶν ἔνδεχ' [νίων] . . .

For οὐρον, he compares Hdt. I 32,2, and takes γὰρ to be proleptic (15). (But ἡνίκα excludes full stop before καὶ γὰρ.) He supplements the Florentine scholia (40): εὐπα]ς ἐζώσε· ἐνδ[εκα γὰρ υἱοὺς εἶχε (17f). The number of sons must be odd, because the *Diegesis* refers to "the middle one" (τῷ μέσῳ τῶν νίων VI 8); one could also try τῶν ἑπτὰ παίδων, if one disregards the reported acute.

<sup>167</sup> Pfeiffer II 117; below, n. 169.

<sup>168</sup> ἤδη <ν> παρθένοισ Kassel, *RhM* 112, 1969, 100 (cf. *Ia.* IV 59). In the figurative sense, ἀλινδεῖσθαι takes ἐν (Pfeiffer; Headlam on Herod. 5,30; cf. Cunningham). Here, it means 'cum puellis volutari', and the simple dative is preferable (K.–G. I 430f).

<sup>169</sup> Pfeiffer II 117; and Barber, *CR* 65, 1951, 80 (with parallels from Hippocrates and Galen). Ignored by Hughes (2; 6; 147; 149; 152,350). Associated with wine: Juv. 13,96 with Courtney; Jackson (1988) 177–9; Macleod (1977) 365,35.

<sup>170</sup> Above, n. 168; Jung (1929) 52f. How does the—youthful?—age of the sons relate to their number and to Bathycles'—presumably old—age? In Herodotus I 30,4, it is the pinnacle of happiness to see one's children and one's children's children.

lubricious frivolity, no hint at the subjectivity of desire. Hipponax is just telling us their age.

Bathycles sits up to address his offspring (43–6):

μόλις δ' ἐπά[ρας] ὥς πότης ἐπ' ἀγκῶνα  
 ... ν ὁ Ἀρκ[ὰς κ] ἀνὰ τὴν στέγην βλέψας  
 ... νοῖς [...] ..  
 εἴπειτ' ἔφ[ησε]

45

Here, much remains obscure. His posture perhaps suggests a πότης bidding farewell to the feast of life.<sup>171</sup> Or are we looking at a gouty carouser? *Der alte Zecher*, looking forward to the μακάρων εὐωχία,<sup>172</sup> giving away his favourite cup—consciously deflating the idea of a ‘prize of wisdom’ by offering the instrument of hearty enjoyment?

Why does Bathycles ‘look up at the roof’? Sometimes, the gaze of the dying is said to wander upwards; but these are usually soldiers on the point of death in battle, not lying in bed and holding forth.<sup>173</sup> More relevant are perhaps some passages in Juvenal and Quintilian about people gazing at the ceiling as if rapt in thought.<sup>174</sup> Again, the pretentious gesture would be mildly comic: the old reveller ‘looking all round the room’, and donating a Nobel prize.

Of Bathycles’ speech, only the first few words survive (47–51):

“ὦ παῖδες ὦ ἐμαὶ τῶπιόντος ἄγκυραι<sup>175</sup>  
 ... λο ...  
 β]ούλεσθε ῥέξω[  
 ε]ὖν θεοῖσι καὶ [...  
 ....] ..

50

At this point, the papyrus breaks off. The rest of the speech and the account of Bathycles’ death are lost. We learn from the

<sup>171</sup> Lucr. III 938f; Hor. *S.* I 1,117–19; *Ep.* II 2,213–16 (with Brink’s note, and pp. 444–6); cf. Karadagli (1981) 56f; Bürger, *Hermes* 27, 1892, 361; Herter (1929) 83.

<sup>172</sup> Ar. *Ra.* 85; Theodorus Prodromus, *Rhodanthe et Dosicles* I 488–93.

<sup>173</sup> Pease on Verg. *A.* IV 691f; O. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 484. Sittl (1890) and Neumann (1965) are no help. On the passages from Juvenal and Quintilian, see also Otto (1890) 341 no. 1747.

<sup>174</sup> Juv. 1,56 with Mayor and Courtney.

<sup>175</sup> Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 479; Pearson on S. fr. 685; Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 277–9; E. *Hec.* 79f; D’Alessio 584,21. τῶπιόντος, i.e. τοῦ ἀπιόντος (Pfeiffer’s apparatus). K.–G. I 282f (3); 602, Anm. 2.

*Diegesis* that he left a golden cup to the ‘best’ of the Seven Sages (VI 6–10):

. . . Βαθυκλῆς Ἀρκὰς τελευτῶν τήν τε ἄλλην οὐσίαν διέθετο καὶ δὴ | χρυσοῦν  
ἐκπωμα τῷ μέσῳ τῶν νύων | Ἀμφάλκῃ ἐνεχείριεν, ὅπως δῶ τῷ ἀρίστῳ | τῶν  
ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν.

Before the text resumes, about thirteen lines are missing.<sup>176</sup>  
Here, Bathycles must have disposed of his cup.<sup>177</sup>

The text continues with Amphalces’ first visit to Thales (52–73).<sup>178</sup> He is the one who has ‘won’ the prize (52–5):

ἐπλευσεν ἐς Μίλητον.<sup>179</sup> ἦν γὰρ ἡ νίκη  
Θάλητος, ὅς τ’ ἦν ἄλλα δεξιὸς γνώμην  
καὶ τῆς Ἀμάξης ἐλέγετο σταθμῆσθαι  
τοὺς ἀστερίσκους, ᾗ πλέουσι Φοίνικες.<sup>180</sup> 55

A νίκη (52) implies an ἀγών.<sup>181</sup> According to the *Diegesis* (VI 9f), Bathycles left the cup “to the best of the Seven Sages”.<sup>182</sup> Did he say which that was? Did his sons decide? How?<sup>183</sup> Drawing lots? Discovering (on their travels?) the usefulness (67?) of Thales’ astronomical achievements (54f)? The tale is about judging one another, and practising tolerance. How was the first decision taken, and by whom?

Amphalces finds Thales in the temple of Apollo at Didyma, deep in geometrical studies (56–63):<sup>184</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Pfeiffer; Hunt, *POxy.* VII, pp. 20, and 70 on 119–20.

<sup>177</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus on 65; cf. 66–8.

<sup>178</sup> For the name of the son, see *Dieg.* VI 9; D.L. I 29 gives it as Θυρίων. Cf. Dawson 9; Pfeiffer on 52.

<sup>179</sup> Hippon. fr. 103,2 W. Subject is probably Amphalces, not ἡ φιάλη; Hunt, *POxy.* VII, p. 70 on 119–20; Pfeiffer.

<sup>180</sup> The Greeks sailed by the Great Bear, the Phoenicians by the Little Bear: Arat. 36–44 (with Sch. on 27 and 39, and Kidd on 27, 39, and 44); Ov. *Tr.* IV 3,1f; Heath (1913) 23, and (1921) I 138. Thales’ knowledge of astronomy: Phoen. fr. 4,1 P. (above, at n. 120); Pfeiffer on 52–5. Cf. Gerhard (1909) 194–7; D’Alessio 584,23; Hughes 151f. In 53 (τ)ᾶλλα? For τᾶλλα, see Chandler 261 (§ 924); for τᾶλλα, *ibid.* 262f (§ 929).

<sup>181</sup> This is what the story is usually called. The competition itself is nowhere described. Cf. Barkowski (1923) 2248–51.

<sup>182</sup> Ath. XI 16 p. 781 D τῷ κριθέντι ἀρίστῳ (Pfeiffer on 32).

<sup>183</sup> Körte–Händel 99.

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Heath (1921) I 141f, and 130–7. Pfeiffer’s references are to Heath (1931). αἰσιος: Hippon. fr. 4a W. Do the two parallel obliques to the left of 56

εἶπεν δ' ὁ Προυέληνο[ς] αἰκίῳ κίττη  
 ἐν τοῦ Διδυμέος τὸν γέρ[ο]ντα κωνήῳ  
 ξύοντα τὴν γῆν καὶ γράφοντα τὸ σχῆμα,  
 τοῦξεῦρ' ὁ Φρύξ Εὐφορβος, ὅστις<sup>185</sup> ἀνθρώπων  
 τρίγωνα καὶ σκαληνὰ πρῶτος ἔγραψε  
 καὶ κύκλον ἐπ[...]<sup>186</sup> κηδίδαξε νηστεύειν  
 τῶν ἐμπνεόντων· οἱ Ἰταλοὶ δ' ὑπήκουσαν<sup>187</sup>  
 οὐ πάντες, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶχεν οὔτερος δαίμων.

60

Colourful language,<sup>188</sup> and a *recherché* joke about Pythagoras:<sup>189</sup> Callimachus treats the Pythagoreans “as poor fellows to be laughed at for their eccentricity and pitied for their low standard of living. . . . The Italians adopted vegetarianism—not all of them, but those who were fallen on hard times and could not afford to eat meat anyway”.<sup>190</sup> For Hipponax, notoriously obsessed with food,<sup>191</sup> ridiculing abstemiousness in others is particularly appropriate.

Amphalces addresses Thales (64–8, with Pfeiffer's supplements):

(Pfeiffer's apparatus) indicate the start of a new section? Hunt prints only one stroke, and notes in his commentary (*POxy.* VII, p. 71 on 121): “Traces of darker ink to the left of the line may be the remains of a marginal note.” Cf. *GMAW* 38 on no. 12, and 40 on no. 14 (cf. nos. 15; 31; 39).

<sup>185</sup> Above, n. 120.

<sup>186</sup> On the *σχῆμα Εὐφόρβου* and 61, see below, n. 201; Pfeiffer; Burkert (1962) 137f, esp. 137, 125 (on Diels's *ἐλ[ικα]*, *Vorsokr.* I 73; 485); Fraser I 408; II 554, 16; D'Alessio 585, 27. Nothing in Hughes (7; 150).

<sup>187</sup> Lloyd-Jones (1967b); ignored by Hughes 3; 7; 148; 150. Cf. Fraser II 1034, 161; D'Alessio 586, 28. For the synecphesis, cf. IV 79 οἱ *ικέται*.

<sup>188</sup> For Iambic and Hipponactean reminiscences, Pfeiffer on 56. On *Φρύξ*, Fantuzzi (1984–6); Herod. 2, 37 (100–2); 3, 36; 5, 14 (with Headlam's notes); Hdt. II 2.

<sup>189</sup> Pythagoras in Middle Comedy: Lloyd-Jones (1967b) 126; Gow on Theoc. 14, 5, 6; *Vorsokr.* 58 E (I 478–80 D.–K.); Nesselrath (1990) 295. Cf. Helm (1906) 371–86; Weiher (1913); Webster (1970) 50–6; Alan Cameron, *CQ* 41, 1991, 536, 9. Pythagoras in Callimachus: Pfeiffer on fr. 61; Ardizzoni (1965) 264–7. Xenoph. fr. 7 W. (cf. 7a); Crates Com. fr. 19 K.–A.

<sup>190</sup> West (1971) 331 (comparing Aristophon fr. 9 K.–A.). For the translation ‘hard up’, ‘dogged by misfortune’, he refers to *Trag. adesp.* fr. 17 K.–S., Men. fr. 500 K.–A., Theoc. 4, 40; cf. Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 51 (= 300 Pf.); Hopkinson on *Cer.* 31; Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 210–15; D'Alessio 586, 28 compares Pi. *P.* 3, 34. There is a reply by Lloyd-Jones (1974). Misunderstood by Hughes 7; 150. Cf. P. Zanker (1995) 201 (on *Philosophenspott* and *Freßlust der Weisen*).

<sup>191</sup> Above, n. 52; Jung (1929) 52 with n. 3; Hughes 11.

πρὸς δὴ [μ]ιν ᾧδ' ἔφησε. [  
 ἐκεῖ[νο] τοῦλόχρυσον ἐξ[ελών] πῆρρη.<sup>192</sup> 65  
 “οὐμὸς πατὴρ ἐφείτο τοῦ[το τοῦ]κπωμα  
 δοῦ[ναι], τίς ὑμέων τῶν σοφ[ῶν] ὀνήϊστος  
 τῶν ἐπτά· κῆγὼ σοὶ δίδωμι[ι πρωτῆον].”

(His father's command will have had its place in the lacuna above.)

Thales is perplexed (69–73, with Pfeiffer's supplements):<sup>193</sup>

ἔτυψε δὲ] κίπωνι τοῦδα[φος πρέσβυς  
 καὶ τ]ὴν ὑπὴνῃν τῇτέρῃ [καταιψήχων 70  
 ἐξεῖπ[ε·] “τὴν δόσιν μὲν [οὐκ ἔγωγ' ἄξω.<sup>194</sup>  
 cὺ δ' εἰ [το]κέωνος μὴ λό[γοις] ἀπειθήσεις,  
 Βίαις<sup>195</sup> [.....]εἰλ[

At this point, the text breaks off, again. About twenty lines are missing. They will have recounted how the cup went round from one to another, and how it returned to Thales who finally dedicated it to Apollo. Compare the account in the *Diegesis* (VI 10–19):

ὁ δὲ (sc. Ἀμφάλκης) ἐλθὼν εἰς Μίλητον | ἐδίδου τοῦτο (sc. τὸ ἔκπωμα)  
 Θάλητι ὡς διαφέρ[ο]ντι τῶν ἄλλων, | ὁ δὲ ἀπέπεμψε πρὸς Βίαντα τὸν  
 Πριηνέα, ὁ | δὲ πρὸς Περίανδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον, ὁ δὲ ὡς Σόλωνα τὸν  
 Ἀθηναῖον, ὁ [δ]ὲ πρὸς [Χίλωνα τὸν | Λ[α]κεδαι[μό]νιον, ὁ δὲ πρὸς  
 Π[ι]τακὸν τὸν Μι[τι]λυηνάον, ὁ δ]ὲ πρὸς [Κ]λέυ[βο]υλ[ο]ν τὸν Αἰ[ν]ιδι[ο]ν.  
 [τὸ δὲ ἔκπωμα] ὑπὸ τούτου [π]εμφθὲν [ἦλ]θε πάλιν εἰς Θάλητα· ὁ δὲ  
 ἀνατίθη[ci] τῷ [Δ]ιδυμ[εῖ | Ἀ]πόλλ[ωνι] δις λαβ[ῶν] ἀριστε[ῖο]ν.

Four lines of this part of the poem survive elsewhere in quotations. In the first, Solon sends the cup to Chilon (74):

<sup>192</sup> Since ἐκεῖ[νο] refers to ‘that’ cup, this will not be the first line of Amphalces’ speech, but still part of the narrative (Pfeiffer’s apparatus). For a taste of Cahen’s edition, cf. his text of 64ff.

<sup>193</sup> His gestures express surprised protest: Sittl (1890) 47; Neumann (1965) 109–12; cf. Diels–Kranz (*Vorsokr.* I 74); B. 5,42 (with Jebb and Maehler); 8,18f; Call. *Epigr.* 1,7 ὁ δὲ (i.e. Pittacus) κίπωνα γεροντικὸν ὄπλον ἀείρας; A. *Ag.* 202f; Herod. 8,9 with Cunningham; D’Alessio 587,29. Differently Maas: ὁ δ’ ἦκα τῷ κίπωνι τοῦδα[φος] ξύων. Pfeiffer on the iconography of philosophers; Richter–Smith (1984) 209f; P. Zanker (1995) 108–13 on *Philosophenbärte* (cf. *Register* s.v. ‘Bart’).

<sup>194</sup> Pfeiffer withdrew the last supplement (I 504).

<sup>195</sup> Not Βίης, *pace* Pfeiffer on 73: see Hunt, *POxy.* VII, p. 72; V. Schmidt (1968) 34f; 133. For the accent of τοκέωνος, see Headlam (1901).



Χόλων· ἐκεῖνος δ' ὡς Χίλων' ἀπέστειλεν

In the second, it 'slips back' to Thales (75):

πάλιν τὸ δῶρον ἐς Θάλητ' ἀνώλιθεν

75

The last two preserve the inscription of Thales' dedication (76f):

“Θάλης με τῷ μεδεῦντι Νείλω δῆμου  
δίδωσι, τοῦτο δὲ λαβὼν ἀριστῆον.”<sup>196</sup>

(Amphalces' travels follow a most circuitous route only to return to Miletus—a comment on scholarly indecision?)

To conclude, it appears, Hipponax pointed the moral of his tale. Callimachus' lines are lost, but compare the *Diegesis* (VI 19–21):

τοιγαρ[οῦν | ἔφη . [.....] αἰο . [.....] ἀλλήλων |  
κρ. τ[.....] ιοις τ[.....] ῥίζεσθε.

If Hipponax (not Thales) was the subject of ἔφη, τοιγαρ[οῦν will have marked the application of his tale. ἀλλήλων κριτ[αἱ (?) and ῥίζεσθε suggest an appeal 'not to cavil or quarrel', and may be quoted from the poem.<sup>197</sup> The αἶνος has reached its end.<sup>198</sup> Hipponax denounces envy, jealousy, and carping philistinism.

E. A. Schmidt gives the following analysis of Hipponax' tale:<sup>199</sup>

Was demonstriert diese Erzählung? Wie veranschaulicht und begründet sie Friedfertigkeit und gegenseitige Anerkennung? Friedfertigkeit kommt nicht unter Verzicht auf Werturteile und kritischen Vergleich zustande, bedeutet nicht ein Aufgeben des Agonalen und pauschale Demut den menschlichen Partnern gegenüber. Die Frage 'wer ist der Beste? der Weiseste?' wird konkret beantwortet. Jeder der Sieben Weisen nennt einen einzelnen bestimmten anderen, den er zwar primär über sich selbst, durchaus aber auch über die anderen fünf

<sup>196</sup> Cf. *Dieg.* VI 18f. Pfeiffer suggested that fr. 217 might come from this part of the poem. D.L. I 29 preserves the prose 'original' of the dedication: τὸ δὲ πεζὸν οὕτως ἔχει· Θαλῆς Ἐξαμίου Μιλήσιος Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυμαίῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀριστεῖον δὲ λαβὼν.

<sup>197</sup> See Pfeiffer; Herter (1937) 163; Puelma 209; Hughes 32,74; 151. Cf. [K]λέυ[βο]ύλ[ο]ν in *Dieg.* VI 16; δὲ λαβ[ὼν] ἀριστε[ῖο]ν in *Dieg.* VI 19 and line 77.

<sup>198</sup> G. Zanker (1987) 160. Cf. Fraenkel (1920) 366f; Howald–Staiger 323.

<sup>199</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 126. Cf. Hunter (1997) 49.

Weisen stellt. Das Ergebnis solchen freien kritischen Anerkennens ist, daß niemand zu kurz kommt. Jeder kann aufgrund der Anerkennung durch einen anderen aller Mißgunst entsagen und gelassen Verdienst und Größe eines anderen anerkennen. Die Sieben Weisen sind untereinander einig-uneinig. Jeder hat eine andere Meinung, und doch streiten sie sich nicht.

Ihre sich selbst aufhebenden Antworten auf die Frage nach dem Weisesten zielen über sich selbst hinaus: indem solche 'sophia' nur von Apollon kommen kann, ist Apollon der Weiseste, und in der gleichen Abhängigkeit von ihm haben die Sieben Weisen ihre 'sophia' und ihre Achtung vor der 'sophia' des anderen.

Schmidt proceeds to argue that the origin of all *σοφία* in Apollo is subtly exemplified in the narrative.<sup>200</sup> Thales is seen drawing 'Thales' Theorem', which is here ascribed to Euphorbus, one of Pythagoras' earlier incarnations.<sup>201</sup> The display of learning makes a serious point. Between the competing claims of 'Thales' disciples and the Pythagoreans,<sup>202</sup> Callimachus does not take sides. He refuses to pronounce, and puts this kind of quarrel in its place.

Nor is this all. Schmidt points out that Euphorbus can be identified, not only with Pythagoras, but also with Apollo. At *Iliad* XVI 849f, the dying Patroclus says to Hector:

ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ὀλοή καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός,  
ἀνδρῶν δ' Εὐφορβος· cὺ δέ με τρίτος ἐξεναρίζεις.

Why is Hector the third when three agents are mentioned before him (Moirai, Apollo, Euphorbus)? Moirai, of course, does not count, but the scholia show that the question was debated. Did someone resort to identifying Apollo and Euphorbus?<sup>203</sup> If

<sup>200</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 126f. Cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 278D; D.L. I 12; Pohlenz (1911) 101, 1.

<sup>201</sup> Pfeiffer on 59; Burkert (1962) 397f; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I 28, 10. The reference to Euphorbus-Pythagoras becomes evident at 61-3. Pfeiffer thought Thales was drawing 'Pythagoras' Theorem', ascribed to Euphorbus for reasons of chronology (cf. Howald 79f). However, 61 suggests the angle in a semicircle, and it is this theorem that was disputed between Pythagoras and Thales (below, n. 202).

<sup>202</sup> Heath (1921) I 133-5, esp. 133; cf. Pfeiffer on 59-63.

<sup>203</sup> Kerényi (1950) 19; Burkert (1962) 116f; 397f. Cf. Luc. *DMort.* 6,3 Χαίρε, ὦ Εὐφορβε ἢ Ἀπολλων ἢ ὅ τι ἂν θέλης (addressing Pythagoras).

so, 'Thales' Theorem' goes back, via 'Euphorbus', to Apollo himself.

This interpretation of the Thales-episode would explain why Thales is the only one to receive elaborate treatment (more than twenty lines—about as much as the rest of the cup's journey). It illustrates the scholars' common dependence on Apollo.

At the end of his tale, Hipponax draws its moral. The lacuna preceding 78 leaves room for comments on the scholars' reactions.<sup>204</sup> In the following lines (78–98), a scene of direct address (μῆ] πίθηκε 95) balances the poem's opening section (1–31), and closes the dramatic frame.<sup>205</sup> High-minded exhortation gives way to sarcasm and caricature. Compared with the Seven Sages, the scholars are a sorry lot.<sup>206</sup> With ample scope for taunts, mockery, and ridicule, Hipponax is himself again. It is part of the game that Callimachus can let Hipponax have it his way, without compromising his own superior refinement; that he can indulge in Hipponactean waspishness, without demeaning his own fastidious detachment; that he can have his cake, and eat it.

Hipponax attacks individual scholars and their personal faults, but again, nobody is named.<sup>207</sup> The text resumes with a reference to Alcmeon, the classic madman (78f).<sup>208</sup>

ἀλλ' ἦν ὁρῇ τις, "οὗτος Ἀλκμέων" φήκει  
καὶ "φεύγε· βάλλει· φεύγ'" ἐρεῖ "τὸν ἄνθρωπον".

Does this refer to disputes among the scholars? Two passages in Horace point in a different direction. This is how his *sermones* are greeted by their victims:<sup>209</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Howald–Staiger 323. Pfeiffer suggested that fr. 216 might belong here; cf. Bing 66; Dawson 24. For Hipponax using 3rd-pers. narrative to describe the scene, cf. 26–30.

<sup>205</sup> Puelma 315; Hughes 30–40 (esp. 32 and 38f on Hipponactean colouring).

<sup>206</sup> Pfeiffer; Herter (1937) 162; Dawson 18; Fraser I 736.

<sup>207</sup> Diels wanted to refer the scholia found to the right of 84–8 to Alexander Aetolus; Pfeiffer; Herter (1937) 162f; Dawson 30; Howald–Staiger 325,82; Cozzoli (1996) 136f.

<sup>208</sup> Pfeiffer; cf. *Anacreont.* 9,4–6 W. (the drinker's revelry opposed to heroic *μανία*); Antiph. fr. 189,9f K.–A.; Timocl. fr. 6,12 K.–A.

<sup>209</sup> Hor. S. I 4,33–8 with Kiessling–Heinze; Freudenburg (1993) 105; Hughes 94,232.

omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.  
 'faenum habet in cornu, longe fuge; dummodo risum  
 excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcat amico  
 et quodcumque semel chartis inleverit, omnis  
 gestiet a furno redeuntis scire lacuque  
 et pueros et anus.' agedum pauca accipe contra.

An imaginary opponent is made to complain of the satirist's attacks. Horace uses the same image of the butting bull for himself as a poet of Iambi:<sup>210</sup>

cave cave, namque in malos asperrimus  
 parata tollo cornua,  
 qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener  
 aut acer hostis Bupalō.

Is Horace looking back to Callimachus in these passages?<sup>211</sup> If we can use him as a guide, 78f report insults hurled against the Iambicist.<sup>212</sup>

After two mutilated lines (80f), a reference to Corycaean eaves-dropping, someone 'lapping up' everything (82f):<sup>213</sup>

ἐκαστ[ο]ς αὐτὸν [...] α. αρθα κηρύσσει 80  
 ὡς υστ.... σιν οἱς... κοτ.....  
 ὁ δ' ἐξόπισθε Κω[ρ]υκαῖος ἐγχάσκει  
 τὴν γλῶσσαν †ελων<sup>214</sup> ὡς κύων ὅταν πίνῃ.

<sup>210</sup> Hor. *Epod.* 6, 11–14.

<sup>211</sup> I can find no parallel for βάλλω 'to butt', but it seems easy enough (*pace* Hunt and Wilamowitz). Cf. *Iambus* XIII 52; Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 25 *cornu ferit ille*; G. III 232; A. XII 103–6; Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 165 (= 732 Pf.); Parsons on *POxy.* L 3530, 5–9 (for passages on angry bulls). The Greek is κορύπτειν or κερατίζειν (Sch. Theoc. 3, 5 e). However, βάλλει could be 2nd pers. sg.; cf. Men. *Dysc.* 84; Schwyzler I 668; Arnott on Alex. fr. 182. [Presumably not 'he throws things': it was other people who threw things at lunatics, to keep them away. L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>212</sup> Perhaps: 'I see you are seething; I am used to people's anger.' Cf. Hippon. fr. 37 W.; Clayman 60f; Hughes 33; Herter (1931) 427, 17–20; Puelma 214f (with passages from Lucilius); Dawson 15. Cf. fr. 203, 19–21.

<sup>213</sup> Κωρυκαῖος: Antiph. *Κώρυκος* fr. 132–4 K.–A.; Diox. fr. 2, 1f K.–A.; Men. fr. 137 K.–Th.; Cic. *Att.* X 18, 1; Hsch. κ 4882 La.; Phot. *Lexicon* I 366f Naber; Steph. Byz. 401f Meineke; *Suda* τ 813 Adler; Zen. IV 75. Hsch. ε 321 La. ἐγχάσκειν καταγέλαν; Ar. *V.* 721 with MacDowell. Cf. Hippon. fr. 9, 1; 28, 1 W.; Pfeiffer; Dawson 19; Hughes 34f; Terzaghi (1951) 176. Freudenburg (1993) 105 compares Hor. *S.* I 4, 36–8. Could ἐκαστος αὐτὸν . . . κηρύσσει (80) mean that 'everyone denounces the Iambicist'? (I cannot read the intervening traces.)

<sup>214</sup> ἐλῶν Hunt, ἐλκων Maas; cf. Parmeno fr. 1, 1 P.; Pfeiffer. Hsch. ε 943 La.

Among scholars, this may hint at plagiarism (compare the competing claims regarding Thales' theorem). After two more lines,<sup>215</sup> τὰ τράχηλα γυμνάζει could still be about the eaves-dropper 'craning his neck' (84–6):<sup>216</sup>

καί φησι τοῦπι[.....]ς ἐκπλεύς[  
 ε.τα[...]'[.....].αι.ηξει.[ 85  
 τὰ τράχηλα γυμνάζει

Line 87 is dark, but some sense can be gleaned from 88f:

]..... οὐς κορ.μος  
 μαν]θάνοντες οὐδ' ἄλφα  
 ]... κονδύλω καπηλεῦς[αι

Hipponax exposes ignorance,<sup>217</sup> perhaps of the scholars in general, perhaps of teachers who 'sell their goods with the knuckle' (in the manner of Fielding's Thwackum?).<sup>218</sup>

More darkness in 90–4:

]..... νι[.]α συλλο.  
 ]ουσερ.ρ..ορω [πέ]πλον  
 ]ηρ μούνος εἶλε τὰς [Μο]ύσας 90

εἰλῶν· συστρέφων. On dogs: *Iambus* II 10; fr. 380; Herod. 6,14 (with Headlam and Cunningham); Hippon. fr. 165b W.; Archil. fr. 196a,41 W. (with West [1997] 500; cf. 505); *Iamb.adesp.* 50 W.; Headlam (1901) 401f; Faust (1970); Lilja (1976), esp. 96–9; D'Alessio 589,35. Cf. fr. 75,4; Hopkinson on *Cer.* 63; LSJ κύων II.

<sup>215</sup> Is the eavesdropper spreading rumours about the Iambicist, e.g. that he 'will depart' (ἐκπλεύς[ 84) and 'arrive' (ἥξειν[ 85)? Unless *correptio Attica* is ruled out for Callimachus, there remain only two alleged examples of ischiorrhogy in the *Iambi*: fr. 191,84, and fr. 203,33. See Ardizzoni (1960) 10–14 (with Masson, *REG* 75, 1962, 301) and *GIF* 11, 1980, 207. Cf. Herter (1931) 425; (1973) 215f; Marcovich (1971); above, Introduction, n. 46. Here, there is no reason to scan καί φησι τοῦπι[– –]ς ἐκπλεύς[εσθαι, or τοῦπι[– –]ς ἐκπλεύς[– –], rather than τοῦπι[– – –]ς ἐκπλεύς[–] (ἐκπλεύς[ειν Gallavotti). Avoidance of ischiorrhogy implies adherence to Porson's Law; on the other hand, although an ἰσχιορρωγικός does not necessarily break Porson's Law, there seems to be no author who allows the first, but avoids the latter.

<sup>216</sup> Or about the Iambicist, who ἐχθρῶν τὰ τράχηλα γυμνάζει? See Pfeiffer's note. Cf. Hippon. fr. 103,1; 118,8 W.; Herod. 7,9; *Iamb.adesp.* 36 W.; Ar. *Ra.* 19f; Howald–Staiger 325; Hughes 35f; West (1997) 520.

<sup>217</sup> Herod. 3,22; *AP* XI 132,4; cf. fr. 565; Parmeno fr. 1,2 P. (Pfeiffer on 86). Clayman 15; Hughes 36.

<sup>218</sup> LSJ κόνδυλος I; κονδυλίζω. Hippon. fr. 79,18 W.; Archil. fr. 250 W. (= Hippon. fr. 167); Hughes 36f. Cf. Herod. 3,3 (and 58ff) with Headlam and Cunningham.

]οι χλωρὰ κύκα τραγούσα[  
]λου καὶ γέλωτος [

Line 92, ]ηρ μουῦνος εἶλε τὰς [Μο]ύσας, may refer to someone, “der . . . die musische ‘sophia’ allein ‘gepachtet’ haben will”—despite the scholars’ common dependence on Apollo.<sup>219</sup> Or to someone who is alone in practising a certain kind of poetry (perhaps the Iambicist)? The latter suits εἶλε better, and would more easily explain why Hipponax presents these particular Muses as χλωρὰ κύκα τραγούσα[ (93). (The phrase appears to refer to poverty<sup>220</sup>—or to the Iambicist’s poetic venom?<sup>221</sup>)

At 95, we reach the “finis admonitionis Hipponactis, qui 96 sq. tempus ad inferos redeundi esse dicere videtur” (95–8):<sup>222</sup>

μη] πίθησθε· καὶ γὰρ η . [ 95  
]...ι τοῦ Χάρωνος ἐν ....ν[  
]ώλυε κάποπλεῖν ὥρη  
]ήσας ἐ[ ]τω κυσω

Hipponax seems to bid them a drastic farewell.<sup>223</sup> At this point, the end of the poem is imminent. There follows a lacuna of about twenty lines, in which the beginning of the next poem must have occurred.<sup>224</sup>

<sup>219</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 127; Howald–Staiger 325; D’Alessio 589,38.

<sup>220</sup> Hippon. fr. 26,5f W. (cf. fr. 41; 48; 78,13; 115,8; 167 = Archil. fr. 250; Archil. fr. 251,4 W.; Anan. fr. 3 W.); Phoen. fr. 6,6 P.; A. Ag. 1041 with Fraenkel; S. fr. 731 R. with Pearson; E. fr. 907 N.; Clayman 16; Hughes 38; Tarditi (1978); Tucker (1987) 76; Watson (1991) 121,294; D’Alessio 589,39.

<sup>221</sup> Smiley, *JHS* 70, 1950, 105, compares “Nicophon’s statement that to eat green figs at midday, and then sleep, induces a fever which ἐμείν ποιεῖ χολήν” (Nicophon fr. 20 K.–A.). Headlam on Herod. 3,70; Korzeniewski (1970) 393,28. Cf. John Cantacuzenus III 27, 438B; 439B. κύκα: Ath. III pp. 74C–80E; *POxy.* XVII 2084; Pherecr. fr. 85 K.–A.; Hdt. I 71,3; 193,3; Pfeiffer; Cozzoli (1996), esp. 138. Cf. Theodoridis, *Eikasmos* 2, 1991, 34f. How does γέλωτος (94) fit in? Has ‘the only one who chose the Muses’ (the Iambicist?) to suffer ridicule? Does he mock others?

<sup>222</sup> Pfeiffer. Cf. E. Alc. 254.

<sup>223</sup> Hsch. κ 4738 La.: κυρός· ἡ πυγή. ἡ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον. *Iamb. adesp.* 53,1 W.; Hippon. fr. 82,2 W.; Herod. 2,44 (with Headlam and Cunningham); 8,4.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. Dawson 20; Howald–Staiger 325. The first three lines of *Iambus* II are quoted elsewhere. They do not overlap with the papyrus. Thus, at least four lines of the lacuna belong to II. That leaves no more than sixteen lines for I. Since I seems to have reached its end, and since the *Diegesis* gives the impression that a substantial part is missing from the beginning of II, most of the lacuna will belong to the next poem.

Iambi are speeches, not internal monologues. There is a speaker, and there are addressees. Iambi are spoken to someone, into a situation. They are not drama, but they are dramatic.<sup>225</sup> *Iambus I* is no exception. Through the words of the speaker, Callimachus creates a precise idea of the imaginary setting. And the speaker himself is invested with a spectacular identity.

In Callimachus' poem, Hipponax takes the initiative. He comes up of his own accord. The old master has the first word. *Iambus I* is about the dangers, but also about the power of learning.

Continuity and change combine to form Callimachus' poem. Hipponax has adapted to a modern world of scholars.<sup>226</sup> The days of Bupalus are gone: today, Hipponax preaches peacefulness.

Is this a programme? How will later poems react to it? How will Callimachus respond to it? When will we hear what he has to say? In *Iambus I*, we find him in the audience. How will he take Hipponax' attack? What will he do with it?

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Herter (1937) 160; Jung (1929) 53f; Puelma 316; West (1974) 23; 32; Bowie (1986) 17.

<sup>226</sup> Cf. Herter (1931) 427,3-7, on 31.

ADDENDUM to n. 153. For the paintings of the Seven Sages in Ostia, see R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd edn. Oxford 1973), 429, and pl. XXIXb.

## *Iambus II*

*Iambus I* makes a remarkable introduction.<sup>1</sup> Form and content set it off from the following poems. Hipponax and his new *Iambus* start the Book with a challenge to the present. In his programmatic opening poem, Callimachus sets himself against the Iambic tradition.

*Iambus I* is marked off and stands apart. When does the collection proper begin? In *Iambus II*, the speaker is the poet.<sup>2</sup> The entrance gate is left behind. We now hear 'Callimachus' himself.

*Iambus II*, like *Iambus I*, contains an *aîvoc*. Indeed, with the exception of its closing lines, it is nothing but an *aîvoc*. Again, like the tale of Bathycles, it is set in the distant, mythical past: in the Golden Age, when Kronos reigned and beasts could speak (1–3):<sup>3</sup>

Ἦν κείνός οὐνιαυτός,<sup>4</sup> ᾧ τό τε πτηνόν  
καὶ τοὺν θαλάσσης καὶ τὸ τετράπουν<sup>5</sup> αὖτως  
ἔφθέγγεθ' ὥς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμήθειος<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Are the *Iambi* designed as a book? Do they survive in their original arrangement? These questions will be discussed below, in the Conclusion. Until then, I shall offer some observations arising from the attested sequence.

<sup>2</sup> This is presupposed by *Dieg.* VI 29 φησίν. When no other subject is identified, ὁ ποιητής is to be inferred. There are no traces of a change of speaker. In the concluding lines (15–17), the poet disclaims responsibility by ascribing his tale to Aesop. This does not make Aesop the speaker of the poem. See below, n. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cratin. fr. 171,3 K.–A.; Crates Com. fr. 16–19 K.–A.; Eup. fr. 298–325 K.–A.; Hughes 179. Babr. *Prol.* I looks back to Callimachus (above, Ch. 1 n. 144). See also Pherecr. fr. 113; 137 K.–A.; Telecl. fr. 1; 25–32 K.–A.; and, in general, Reinsch-Werner (1976) 306f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. fr. 191,35; 193,1; 194,6; 198,1; Critias *TrGF* I 43 F 19,1 S.; Mosch. Trag. *TrGF* I 97 F 6,3 S.; Gow on Theoc. 7,1; Wilamowitz (1924) II 142; Norden (1913) 368–74; Fraenkel (1920) 367; 369; (1951) 54; Dover (1966) 43, and on Pl. *Smp.*, pp. 112f; West (1997) 581f. Below, Ch. 4 n. 14.

<sup>5</sup> The list suggests totality; the terms are those of scientific διαίρεσις: Arist.



After 3, no more than 17 lines are lost.<sup>7</sup> According to the *Diegesis*, they contained a request by the swan for the abolition of old age, and a speech by the fox complaining about the rule of Zeus (VI 24–7):<sup>8</sup>

. . . κατάλυσιν<sup>9</sup> γήρως ἐπ[ρὲ]ς βευσεν ὁ κύκνος πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἀλώπηξ τὸν | Δία ἐτόλμησεν μὴ δικαίως ἄρχειν φάιναι.

The papyrus resumes with 4f:

τὰπὶ Κρόνου τε καὶ ἔτι τὰ πρὸ τη[  
λ. . . ουσα καὶ κως [. . .] νημεναις<sup>10</sup>. [

5

These lines could sum up the fox's speech (a feminine participle in 5?).<sup>11</sup> An unfavourable comparison of Zeus' reign with that of Kronos would not be out of place.<sup>12</sup>

Then, the poet turns to the consequences of the animals' complaints (6–10):

δίκαιος ὁ [Ζε]ύς, οὐ δίκαι[α] δ' αἰκυμνέων  
τῶν ἐρπετῶν [μ]ὲν ἐξέκοψε τὸ φθέ[γμα,  
γένος δὲ τ. υτ. [. . .] ρον—ὥς περ οὐ κάρτ[ος  
ἡμέων ἐχόντων χητέροις ἀπάρξασθαι—  
...] ψ ἐς ἀνδρῶν. . . .

10

HA I 1 p. 487<sup>a</sup> 14–b6; GA I p. 719<sup>b</sup> 21f; III p. 749<sup>b</sup> 11. They are exemplified in 10–13: Bing (1981) 34,4. The categories themselves are widespread: Od. XXIV 291f; Hes. *Op.* 277; Alc. fr. 89 P.; S. *Ant.* 342–7; Pl. *Lg.* VII 823 B 2–4; LXX *Ge.* 1,26. Cf. Philo's ζῶα χειραῖα καὶ ἔνυδρα καὶ πτηνά (*De confusione linguarum* 3,6 [II 219,31 C.–W.]); *Dieg.* VI 22f; *AP* VI 11–16, and 179–87; Clayman 17,17; Hughes 169,378.

<sup>9</sup> Pfeiffer on fr. 493; Köhnken (1984); Hughes 170f. Cf. Herod. 2,28f with Headlam and Cunningham; Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 686; West on Hes. *Th.* 571, and (1997) 237f; 310.

<sup>7</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; above, Ch. 1 n. 224.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ph. *De conf. ling.* 6–8 (Pfeiffer II 117); Perry (1962) 312f.

<sup>9</sup> Pace Barber, *CQ* 33, 1939, 67f. For *πρεσβεύω τι*, see Pfeiffer's note, and II 117; cf. LSJ *πρεσβεύω* II.2 (examples of *πρεσβεύω εἰρήνην*).

<sup>10</sup> λέγουσα καὶ κῶς οὐ συνῆμεν αἰσχύνῃ Kapsomenos; λέγουσα καὶ κῶς [ο]ὔ ε[ν] νημεναις [ἐώκει Gallavotti. A trace like a small μ in mid-line preceding λ; ε good; γ doubtful. One could perhaps read .αθρου. (I do not see *ca* or *ci*). Not λαλοῦσα (M. Griffith at Hughes 173,392); λαλεῦσα, ληρεῦσα Gallavotti. μενωσ Maas (Parsons); not obvious. [ο]ὔθ[ε]ν ἤμεν *Αἰς* [ώπω A. D. Knox (1923) 33. On the crasis in τὰπὶ Κρόνου (4): V. Schmidt 27.

<sup>11</sup> Pfeiffer; Smiley, *CR* 2, 1952, 187: "The fox's charges of unjust rule must, I think, have preceded 4–5, and Zeus' retaliation have begun here." Hughes 172f.

<sup>12</sup> Kapsomenos (1937) 29. Cf. West (1997) 314.

Here, the poet is speaking: note the address in 15 (no intervening change of speaker).<sup>13</sup> 8–10 have defied all efforts,<sup>14</sup> but the gist of their meaning is clear from the *Diegesis* (VI 27–9):

ἐκτοτε δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπους μετήνεγκεν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνήν, καὶ λάλοι ἐγέλνοντο.

This sheds light on the parenthesis (8f): Zeus ‘transfers’ to mankind what they already possess—indeed, to such an extent as ‘to offer their first-fruits’ to others. The animals talked too much, and were punished. Now it is man who must watch his tongue.

This αἶνος not only suggests a critical *fabula docet*, it also includes gibes and satirical judgements in its narrative. In 6, the speaker picks up the fox’s complaint ‘that Zeus did not rule justly’. ‘Zeus is just’, he asserts, ‘but not in this case’.<sup>15</sup> Will he defend the animals? Will he dispute the justice of their punishment? Far from it—his only concern is mankind. Suddenly (and teasingly), the perspective changes. The whole portentous tale was a pretext—but a pretext for what? ‘Just is Zeus, yet unjust was his ruling when he deprived the animals of their speech—only to impose it on us!’ The unexpected turn alerts the reader to the following satire.

The focus shifts to what befell mankind as a result of the animals’ punishment. In some people, the voices of certain species still survive (10–13):<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79. Lines 15–17 do not imply that Aesop is the speaker: below, n. 66.

<sup>14</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus; D’Alessio 593,45. γένος δ’ ἐτ’ υτ. [ ? Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79: “Das Prädikat am Anfang von V.10 kann nur zu ἀνῆ]ψ’ (oder auch ἐφῆ]ψ’) ergänzt werden; dann mögen die Verse im ganzen gelautet haben:

γένος δὲ τοῦτ’ [ἀτῆ]ρόν—ὥσπερ οὐ κάρτ[α  
ἡμέων ἐχόντων χητέροις ἀπάρξασθαι—  
ἀνῆ]ψ’ ἐς ἀνδρῶν.

D.h. ‘Zeus hing sie (sc. die Sprache, τὸ φθέγμα)—als wenn wir nicht noch andern kräftig davon abgeben könnten—diesem unseligen Geschlecht der Menschen an’ (ἀνδρῶν hängt also von γένος und dies, mit starker Prolepse vorangestellt, von ἐς ab).” τοῦτο (8), and ἀνῆψε/ἐφῆψε/ῆμ(ε)ψε (10) are all too long, and the prolepsis of τοῦτο (8) would be very harsh (nothing comparable among the examples collected by Pfeiffer on fr. 6). 8 γένος δὲ τ[α]ύτῃ [π]ηρόν· ὥσπερ οὐδ’ κάρτ[ος Gallavotti. 10 ἔρρε]ψεν ἀδρῶν A. D. Knox (1923) 33. Cf. Dawson 29 on 7–9; Smiley, *CR* 2, 1952, 187; below, n. 53.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E. *El.* 1245f.

<sup>16</sup> *Dieg.* VI 29–31: Εὐδημος δέ, φησίν, τὴν κυνὸς | ἔσχε, Φίλτων δὲ ὄνου, παρεπικόπτων | τούτους.

... καὶ κυνὸς [μ]έ[ν] Εὐδήμος, 10  
 ὄνου δὲ Φίλων, ψιπτακοῦ δε[  
 οἱ δὲ τραγωδοὶ τῶν θάλασσαν οἱ[κεύντων  
 ἔχο[ν]σι φωνήν. ...

At the end of 11, a proper name is more likely than von Arnim's ῥητηῆρες.<sup>17</sup> The two preceding examples relate individual animals to individual persons; only with the class of 'those who live in the sea' (12) do we find a generic description (οἱ τραγωδοὶ 12).<sup>18</sup> The names of the victims may be real (and obscure), or fictitious.<sup>19</sup> What counts, is that they convey the taste of traditional Iambic invective.

The tale closes with direct address and *fabula docet* (13–15):

... οἱ δὲ πάντες [ ἄνθρωποι<sup>20</sup>  
 καὶ πουλύμυθοι<sup>21</sup> καὶ λάλοι πεφ[ύκασι  
 ἐκείθεν, ὠνδρόνικε. ... 15

These lines look back to 8–10. Their sentiment is generalizing. They contemplate mankind as a whole.<sup>22</sup> Personal invective is left behind.

Or is it? The fable, I was suggesting, is a vehicle of mockery. The examples do more than just illustrate the qualities of certain voices: they suggest moral defects, and offer an excuse for insult and attack. The dog is a favourite Iambic taunt.<sup>23</sup> The ass is not only loud (as in fr. 1,30), but also ἀναίχυντος.<sup>24</sup> The parrot repeats without understanding, and suggests slavish imitation.<sup>25</sup> These animals are chosen for their Iambic potential. The comparisons are there to offend.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Pfeiffer II 117; Corbato (1958) 3–7, at 5; Hughes 181–3. One might expect to find the name in the *Diegesis* (Dawson 30; Trypanis 115,d; Clayman 18f; Schwinge [1986] 32,89). However, Andronicus (15) is also missing (Hughes 181f).

<sup>18</sup> Fraser II 1043,212; Corbato (1979) 55. I cannot read the traces after ζς.

<sup>19</sup> Dawson 30; Trypanis 113,b; Corbato (1958) 4f; Fraser II 1043,213; Clayman 18; D'Alessio 54,46; Hughes 180,403.

<sup>20</sup> εὐγλωσσοὶ von Arnim; ὑμνωδοὶ Mair.

<sup>21</sup> The papyrus has πολύμυθοι: accepted by V. Schmidt 97, but see West (1982) 161,82, and above, Ch. 1 n. 52 on choriambic anacalasis. Cf. Gigante, *SIFC* III 9, 1991, 55f, and 208,1. <sup>22</sup> Kapsomenos (1937) 35.

<sup>23</sup> Above, Ch. 1 n. 214 on I 83; Hughes 184.

<sup>24</sup> D'Alessio 594,46.

<sup>25</sup> Thompson (1936) 335–8.

<sup>26</sup> See LSJ for metaphorical use of ὑλακάω/ὑλακτέω; Headlam (1901) 401f;

Nor are these the only traces of the speaker's venom. The scurrilous aside (10–13) is followed by a summary that does not follow (13–15). We have just been told that men have always been garrulous (8f)—why, then, this aetiology? The inconsistency marks the speaker's self-indulgence. The story may suffer, as long as he can score his point.

What is the point of 13–15? If the supplement in 13 is correct, the diction is revealing. Not πάντες ἄνθρωποι 'all people', but οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι 'everybody without exception', implying 'you, too'!<sup>27</sup> The flaws are rubbed in (καὶ πολὺ μύθοι καὶ λάλοι 14<sup>28</sup>), and followed by direct address (15). In 9, general remarks ('we as men') make a salvo to precede the caustic comments of 10–13. Here, they turn into a sudden attack on the addressee. The sentiment of general moralizing is a thin disguise for an Iambic οὐτω δὲ καὶ σύ.<sup>29</sup>

At this point, the poet hides behind his source (15–17):

ταῦτα δ' Αἴσωπος 15

. . .  
ὁ Καρδιηγὸς εἶπεν, ὅντιν<sup>30</sup> οἱ Δελφοί  
ἄδοντα μῦθον οὐ καλῶς ἐδέξαντο.

Why the emphasis on ὁ Καρδιηγός (16)? Some say that Aesop was born in Sardis,<sup>31</sup> and spent some time at the court of Croesus.<sup>32</sup> (In this case, ἴσως in *Dieg.* VI 31<sup>33</sup> should mean 'per-

above, Ch. 1 n. 214; Herod. 6,14 (with Headlam and Cunningham); Ar. *V.* 1402; Eup. fr. 220 K.-A.; S. *El.* 299; E. *Alc.* 760, and fr. 907 N.; Pl. *Lg.* XII 967D1. No examples for ὀγκάομαι, but at fr. 1,30, their noise is called θόρυβος—which is used "elsewhere always of human uproar, tumult, and confusion" (Hopkinson's note). Cf. Semon. fr. 7 W. I shall return to 'the voice of those who live in the sea'.

<sup>27</sup> K.-G. I 631–3. The former emphasizes totality: Pl. *Mx.* 243B7 πάντας Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους, 'all together'. The latter stresses every individual instance: Pl. *Lg.* I 631B4 ἐν πάσι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, 'without exception'. Cf. X. *An.* V 6,7, and esp. S. *Ant.* 1023f ἀνθρώποισι γὰρ | τοῖς πάσι κοινόν ἐστι τοῦ ξαμαρτάνειν, i.e. individually (as κοινόν shows), not collectively.

<sup>28</sup> 'Wordy and loquacious', i.e. they talk too much, and in too many words. Cf. K.-G. II 249 (1) on καὶ . . . καὶ . . .

<sup>29</sup> For the traditional formula, see Fraenkel (1920) 366f. For postponed address, Bühler (1964) 235f.

<sup>30</sup> Above, Ch. 1 n. 120.

<sup>31</sup> Pfeiffer; *Suda* α (post δ) 334 (II 182) Adler: Αἴσωπος· Κάμιος ἢ Καρδιανός.

<sup>32</sup> See Perry (1962) 313,27.

<sup>33</sup> *Dieg.* VI 31f: ἴσως δὲ καὶ Καρδιανὸν εἶπε | τὸν Αἴσωπον.

haps', introducing a dialectal variant.<sup>34</sup>) But why mention his origin? Perhaps Callimachus uses the word in a proverbial sense, implying that Aesop wrought his own destruction.<sup>35</sup> (In this case, ἴσως would equal ὁμοίως, and refer back to παρεπικόπτων, 'similarly [in mockery]'.<sup>36</sup>)

This is the end of *Iambus* II. The next line of the papyrus is quoted as the incipit of *Iambus* III in the *Diegesis* (VI 33). There is also a sign in the left margin.

I return to a matter of detail: 'the voice of those who live in the sea'. This problem will shed some light on the construction of the fable, and of the poem as a whole. Why are οἱ τραγωδοί said to have received 'the voice of those who live in the sea'?<sup>37</sup>

Prima facie, this looks like a reference to the proverbial muteness of fish.<sup>38</sup> However, in the opening lines of the poem, τοῦν θαλάσσης (2) shares the gift of speech, and the animals mentioned in 10–13 neatly exemplify the categories introduced in 1–3.<sup>39</sup>

The inconsistency disappears, if the passage is referred (with Immisch) to the βόμβος κόγχων:<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Pfeiffer I 504, and II 117.

<sup>35</sup> Pfeiffer on *Dieg.* VI 31; Dawson 30f. Cf. Hdt. II 134,3f.

<sup>36</sup> Pfeiffer; Fraser I 741; D'Alessio 591,42; Hughes 172; 187,422.

<sup>37</sup> *Τραγωδοί* are actors, not poets: J. and L. Robert, *REG* 71, 1958, 223; Jones, *CQ* 37, 1987, 208; Courtney (1988) 276. However, this does not suggest "a reference to modern acting styles rather than the style or subject matter of tragedy itself" (Cameron 61). The 'Muse of tragic song' of fr. 215 (*τραγωδὸς Μοῦσα*) is the Muse of tragedy. Cf. fr. 203,32 and 44; D'Alessio 594,46. At Hor. *Carm.* II 1,12, "the tragedian is . . . represented as a tragic actor" (Nisbet-Hubbard; cf. their note on 18: poets doing what they describe). For the related "figure of speech whereby an author is said to do what his characters do", see Macleod (1977) 362,16. The sound of the *τραγωδοί* reflects the qualities of tragedy. I have not been able to take account of: O. Nikitinski, 'Kallimachos und die Tragodoi. Zu Kallimachos fr. 192, 12–13' *ZPE* 122, 1998, 41–6.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Suppl.Hell.* 295 = Call. fr. 496 + 533 Pf. (with his note on fr. 533); Courtney (1988); Claudian, *In Rufinum* II 487–90. Wilamowitz (1921) 297,2: "die Tragiker . . . stumm wie die Fische (bei Petron 39 werden die Rhetoren *in piscibus* geboren), andere καὶ πουλύμυθοι καὶ λάλοι πε[φύκασι]". Their great number is, presumably, not relevant: Ov. *Tr.* IV 1,56. On νέπων: Massimilla on fr. 97,2; Rengakos (1992) 41, and (1994) 117; 156; 168.

<sup>39</sup> Pfeiffer; Bing (1981) 34,4.

<sup>40</sup> Immisch, *RhM* 79, 1930, 161,1.

Das geht wohl auf den βόμβος, eine Erbschaft der Muscheltiere, in deren Gehäusen es ebenso dumpf braust wie in den ληκύθια, die den Ausdruck *ampullari* veranlasst haben; vgl. Heinze zu Hor. *ep.* I 3,14 und bei Kallimachos selbst an anderer Stelle den Vers ἥτις τραγῶδός μοῦσα ληκυθίζουσα.<sup>41</sup>

A gibe at the empty pomp of tragedy is just what one would expect.<sup>42</sup> But is Callimachus really so specific? His words are aimed at the denizens of the sea in general.<sup>43</sup> If there is one group that can stand for all, this will presumably not be the κόγχοι, but the fish.

A third explanation is offered by Kapsomenos. He refers the lines, not to the muteness of the fish, but to their stolidity<sup>44</sup>—but what has that to do with their voice?

Similarly, Bing reads the lines as a reference to the φύλον ἄμουςον . . . πολυσπερέων καμασῆνων.<sup>45</sup> The fish, he argues, are a φύλον ἄμουςον, not because they are mute, but because all they

<sup>41</sup> Fr. 215 Pf.; cf. his note. On *ampullari*, see E. Reitzenstein, *RhM* 79, 1930, 89–92 (on Verg. *Cat.* 5); Cic. *Att.* I 14,3; Hor. *Ep.* I 3,14, and *Ars* 97 (with Brink). Cf. Bill (1941), with older literature; Quincey (1949) doubts the relevance of theatrical *Schallgefäße*, a theory argued in detail by Thielscher (1953), esp. 353–68; sceptical also Blume (1978) 60. Thomas (1979) 189f refers ληκυθίζω to the triviality of New Comedy. See also Corbato (1958) 6f; Macleod (1977) 362; Cameron 61; D'Alessio 650f, 176. Cf. Hsch. κ 3185 La.: κογχαλίζειν· πεποιήται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥχου τῶν κόγχων (where the word is not glossed). Such verbs have a choliambic ring: apart from fr. 215, cf. *Iambus* IV 62 τινθυρίζουσαι, and 81 κωτιλίζουσι; Herod. 6,7. 77 (1,60); 7,77; 8,8 (with Headlam's and Cunningham's notes); Kassel–Austin on Pherecr. fr. 113,4; West (1974) 110. A. S. Hollis suggests that Hsch. κ 3937 La. (κραμβαλίζουσιν· καπυρίζουσιν· κατασείουσιν) may come from Hipponax, or one of his Hellenistic followers, perhaps Callimachus. Cf. Hsch. κ 3938 La.: κράμβη· ράφανος, καὶ ἕτερα λάχανα (with Hippon. fr. 104,47 W.; Anan. fr. 4,2 W.; Kassel–Austin on Eup. fr. 84,2).

<sup>42</sup> Giannini (1963), esp. 63; Capovilla (1967) I 385–7; Newman (1974) 344,10; Schwinge (1986) 32–6; Cameron 53–63, esp. 59–62 (cf. 226, and 277, on his tragedies and comedies); Howald 16; 26; above, Ch. 1 n. 99 on I 16f; *AP* V 222.

<sup>43</sup> Bing (1981) 34.

<sup>44</sup> Kapsomenos (1937) 34f, quoting Plu. *De sollertia animalium* 22 p. 975 B: ἰχθῦς τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀνοήτους λοιδοροῦντες ἢ σκώπτοντες ὀνομάζομεν. He refers 12f to the tragic Pleias. Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79: “Kapsomenos . . . wollte hier eine Anspielung auf die Amathie der Fische . . . finden, aber wie vorher kommt es auf die φωνή an.” He compares Emp. 31 B 117,2 D.–K.

<sup>45</sup> Emp. 31 B 74 D.–K.; Bing (1981).

can utter is inarticulate grunting and hissing.<sup>46</sup> I see three objections to this. (i) Elsewhere in Empedocles, the fish are voiceless.<sup>47</sup> (ii) The evidence for grunting fish comes from Aristotle and other (pseudo-)scientific writers who dispute the general view that fish make no noise. This demonstrates that their muteness is the first thing that comes to mind. (iii) Some will argue that this use of obscure learning is exactly what should be expected of a poet who hints at the most recent discoveries in ophthalmology and gynaecology elsewhere in his works.<sup>48</sup> But in each of those cases, there are details which establish the reference. Not so here.

One last proposal. Herter suggests "daß der Mund der Schauspielermaske an ein Fischmaul erinnert haben könnte".<sup>49</sup> The mask leads you to expect the muteness of fish, but in fact, tragic actors are rather obstreperous.<sup>50</sup> However, the actors are said to be *like* fish—the comparison should be *ex analogia* rather than *e contrario*.

If, then, the muteness of the fish is meant as a paradoxical insult to tragedy, this contradicts the opening statement of the poem. What are we to make of it?

Before this question can be tackled, its foundations must be examined. This is more than a matter of detail. The problem infects the construction of the whole poem. When individual victims are compared to certain animals, it is their present noises which provide the point of reference. Their primeval speech, which they lost to mankind, is not described. The speaker credits his victims with the barking of the dog, the braying of the ass, the babbling of the parrot, the silence of the fish—without bothering about their former speech. What, then, do the animals lose? What is conferred upon man? And what connects man's present voices to the noises which animals produce today?

<sup>46</sup> Bing (1981) 34f; Fraser II 1043, 212; Ax (1978); cf. Schwinge (1986) 32f; D'Alessio 594f, 46; Hughes 183f.

<sup>47</sup> Emp. 31 B 117, 2 D.-K. ἔλλοπος ἰχθύς.

<sup>48</sup> Oppermann (1925); Most (1981). Cf. Fraser I 356; 370; G. Zanker (1987) 124f; von Staden (1989) 394f.

<sup>49</sup> Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79. Cf. Corbato (1958) 7, and (1979) 56–9.

<sup>50</sup> Herter (ibid.) quotes W. Kranz: "Der Witz besteht also darin, daß die Schauspieler zwar das Maul der Fische haben, aber nicht ihre Stimmlosigkeit." But what does this mean?

In the Golden Age, 'beast spoke like man' (3):<sup>51</sup>

ἐφθέγγεθ' ὥς ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμήθεϊς.

It is this ability of articulate speech that Zeus takes away from them (7):

τῶν ἐρπετῶν [μ]ὲν ἐξέκοψε τὸ φθέγμα.

Here, ἐρπετά will mean animals in general, and φθέγμα will be the speech which they had hitherto shared with man. (The latter can in principle refer to the sounds of animals;<sup>52</sup> the former could mean 'reptiles'.<sup>53</sup>)

What is conferred upon man, though, is presumably not 'speech'. All living beings shared the same language (if αὐτῶς in 2 is correct), and man had already quite enough of it (8f). Thus, man will have received the φωνή, the (various) voice(s) of animals (13; *Dieg.* VI 27-9):

ἔκτοτε δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπους μετήνεγκεν αὐτῶν τὴν φωνήν, καὶ λάλοισι ἐγένοντο.

It is their manner of speaking that is ridiculed. Bing writes on 10-13:<sup>54</sup>

The insults indicate that, although animals can no longer speak, their present-day voices recall the specific quality that their speech once had. Eudemos, for example, speaks as the dog must once have spoken, judging from its bark today.

Does this mean that the animals are deprived of speech, but man inherits merely their voices (which they still seem to possess)? However, 8f imply not only that man was loquacious from the beginning, but that he was given more of what he possessed already in abundant measure, and that this enhanced his native loquacity even further (13-15). This cannot refer to the animals' voices—but can one receive more of an ability (speech) that one has already?

<sup>51</sup> *Dieg.* VI 23: ὠμοφώνει ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>52</sup> See LSJ φθέγμα 2.

<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the reptiles lose their speech, and another γένος (8) was changed into man (ἡμεῖς]ψ' ἐς ἀνδρῶν [sc. γένος]; LSJ ἀμείβω A.I.4)? Cf. Wilamowitz (1924) I 211,1. But for βοᾶν used of snakes see A. *Th.* 381 with Hutchinson's note; cf. Fraenkel (1952) 5 on *Culex* 179.

<sup>54</sup> Bing (1981) 33, with n. 1 on this type of fable (Semon. fr. 7 W.; Aesop. 228). Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79, compares Call. fr. 380 Pf. See Hausrath (1949); Trypanis 112f,a; Corbato (1979) 55; Karadagli (1981) 99f; 148-50.



Callimachus combines two different stories. The poem begins as an aetiology for why beasts cannot speak; it ends as an aetiology for the forms of loquacity among men.<sup>55</sup> The shift occurs in 6–10. Some people's voices are compared to the noises of certain animals. The fish are mentioned for their muteness, and it is at this point that the basic inconsistency of the story becomes obvious.<sup>56</sup> Zeus takes away from the animals what man already owns—the gift of speech; and he transfers to mankind what the animals still possess—their voices.

What is the point of this complicated failure? To whom should we ascribe it? Not, I think, to Callimachus—but to his speaker. Twice before, we have found him merrily incoherent. The parenthetical elaboration in 10–13 goes far beyond the purposes of his argument, and the following conclusion (13–15) leaves behind the constraints of logic for the joys of invective. Wilful inconsistency is the hallmark of the speaker's self-indulgence. When mankind inherited the animals' loquacity, he suggests, they also received the shamelessness of dog and ass, and the dullness of parrot and fish.<sup>57</sup> Callimachus' interest is more in the teller than in the tale.

When Philo tells the story, he does it for the moral. In his version, the animals are *ὁμόφωνα* among themselves, not *ἀνθρώποις*, and what they lose is their community of language. It provides an analogy to the Babylonian confusion of tongues.<sup>58</sup>

For Callimachus, the handling of the story is a means of characterizing the speaker. It is with some thoughts on the character of the Iambicist that I shall conclude this chapter.

Traces of the old Iambic spirit still survive, despite Hipponax' rebukes. Individuals are caricatured, and unlike Hipponax in *Iambus* I, the speaker of *Iambus* II gives their names (10–13). There, Hipponax openly harangued the scholars. Here, the

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Bühler (1964) 235; Smiley, *CR* 2, 1952, 187.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79. See also Dover (1966) 41–5, and on Pl. *Smp.*, p. 113.

<sup>57</sup> Kapsomenos (1937) 33–6; *contra*: Herter (above, n. 44), and Fraser II 1043, 212. On the way “wie der Dichter sein eigenes Ich aufspaltet”, cf. Howald 34f (on fr. 75).

<sup>58</sup> Was this the original version? The maxim ‘confusion prevents plotting’ sounds convincing. Cf. Perry (1962) 312f; West (1997) 315f.

speaker takes a different route. His invective is embedded in general moralizing reflections. Individual faults are introduced as mere illustrations.<sup>59</sup> Vituperation is dressed up as aetiology,<sup>60</sup> purporting to invite critical contemplation, not superior condemnation. The situation is more intimate than Hipponax' public performance: the speaker and his addressee ostensibly share in the examination of common human shortcomings, other people's (πάντες [ἄνθρωποι 13) as well as their own (ἡμέων ἐχόντων 9).<sup>61</sup> The new Iambicist is devious, his strategy complicated, his criticism indirect.

Comparison with reflections on the *condicio humana* in Archilochus' Iambi will help to mark the contrast.<sup>62</sup> Archilochus is engaged in self-assertion against overwhelming odds, counselling τλημοσύνη against external misfortunes. Fables are not used for humorous reflection. The tale of fox and eagle (frr. 172–84 W.) makes a threat; that of fox and ape (frr. 185–7 W.) is aimed at ridiculing an opponent. Fables are a powerful weapon, because they can accuse without having to argue: a fable is always right, its truth always evident.<sup>63</sup> Archilochus uses this weapon to unmask, expose, and compromise his antagonists. Callimachus' speaker settles his scores beneath a surface of elegant sophistication, of conciliatory intimacy and relaxed self-irony.

Furthermore, Callimachus avoids Archilochus' 'big questions'—man and god, justice and treachery. In *Iambus* I, he considers, not scholarship itself, but how to treat one's fellow scholars. Here, he is content to expose various forms of the ridiculous, to deflate pompousness and vain pretence. His is the modest morality of social graces.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Dieg.* VI 30f *παρεπικόπτων τούτους* (the same verb in 37 on *Iambus* III).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. G. Zanker (1987) 122.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Corbato (1958) 4. Thus, whoever the people named in 10f, the poem is not primarily concerned with literary polemics (cf. Herter [1973] 218), *pace* Puelma 221–7; Körte-Händel 100; Clayman 18; 19; 20; 70; Bing 123, 49, and (1981) 33; cf. Fraser II 741.

<sup>62</sup> Archil. frr. 128 and 130 W.; nothing comparable in Hipponax.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Hutchinson 51f, esp. 52, 58; Bühler (1964) 233; Fränkel (1969) 163–5; Castrucci (1996) 279; Cozzoli (1996) 143.

<sup>64</sup> C. W. Müller (1987) 45: "Eine Welt- und Lebenssicht wird erkennbar, der alles Gewalttätig-Raumbeanspruchende, Geräuschvoll-Großtuende, Einvernehmend-Gefräßige in den verschiedenen Spielarten menschlicher

Finally, public outcries of indignation have given way to private amusement.<sup>65</sup> Callimachus the poet can laugh at Callimachus the speaker. He knows how to stand back from the role of Iambic teacher, how to teach himself as well as others—and to smile at his own Iambic aspirations.

At the end of his poem, Callimachus stands back and reveals his source. This does not mean that Aesop is the speaker.<sup>66</sup> But the reference at the end of *Iambus* II is not just a learned footnote, either.<sup>67</sup>

The personal polemics (10–13) as well as the address to Andronicus (15, and possibly in the lacuna after 3) are, we must suppose, Callimachus', not Aesop's. Callimachus is doing more than just reproducing Aesop. *ταῦτα* (15) does not necessarily mean that these are Aesop's very words. It could refer to the gnomic conclusion only, or it could be taken to indicate (like *τοιαῦτα*) that this is a poem in Aesop's manner.<sup>68</sup> Callimachus' speaker claims Aesop's authority for his own story—including his own judgements and his own attacks. (The complaint in 14 suggests an *aficionado* of *βραχυκυλλαβίη*.) He is riding his own hobby-horse—under false colours. He is disclaiming responsibility while indulging himself.

Lebensäußerungen ein Greuel ist." Cf. Howald 17; 40f; Snell (1980c) 248f; Bühler (1964) 232–6; Fraser I 744.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. E. A. Schmidt (1990) 130: "Betroffenheit und Engagement sind durchaus spürbar, aber aufgehoben in urbaner Distanz und spöttischer Ironie. . . . An die Stelle persönlicher Verletzung und der Empörung eines verletzten Rechtsempfindens in der archaischen Epoche ist eine freie, individuelle moralisch-ästhetische Sensibilität gegenüber der Welt getreten, die zu originellen und unabhängigen Werturteilen führt." Cf. Wilamowitz (1924) I 3; Herter (1942) 350–2; Snell (1980c) 248; Schwinge (1986) 172–7.

<sup>66</sup> The speaker of 15–17 is the poet. The *Diegesis* shows that he, and not Aesop (*pace* Clayman 20; 22), is also the speaker of the preceding narrative (above, n. 2). Furthermore, addressee and victims will be contemporaries of the poet rather than of his source. Cf. Bühler (1964) 234; Hughes 186f.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. fr. 75,50–77; Fraser I 657.

<sup>68</sup> LSJ *οἶτος* C.III. The fable does not occur under Aesop's name or in the narratives about his stay at Delphi. (Babr. *Prol.* I ascribes a very similar tale of the Golden Age to Aesop, but may depend on Callimachus: above, n. 3.) For literature, see Pfeiffer on fr. 191,26, and add Perry (1962) 311–14 (on Demetrius as a possible source of Callimachus), esp. 314,27; cf. Wiechers (1961); Holzberg (1992) 69–75; Dawson 29 on 16f; 31; Fraser II 1042,212; 1047f,229.

Is not this precisely what happens in *Rollenpoesie*? If you want to hide behind his name, why not make Aesop the speaker of this poem? Comparison with Archilochus, frs. 19 and 122 W., and Horace, *Epode* 2, will bring out why *Iambus* II is different.

In Horace, the effect is subversive: Alfius does not live up to his august meditations, and the sentimental attitude of the poem is unmasked by the sudden revelation of the speaker's identity. Horace mocks a cliché.

The case of Archilochus is more difficult. Only fragments survive where all would depend on the effect of the whole. It seems likely enough, though, that the two poems in question ended, like Horace's poem, with the surprising revelation of the speaker's identity. The surviving lines give nothing away,<sup>69</sup> and without Aristotle's remarks, their ethopoietic character would have passed unnoticed. Aristotle quotes the two poems to exemplify the following procedure:<sup>70</sup>

εἰς δὲ τὸ ἥθος, ἐπειδὴ ἓνια περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἢ ἐπίφθονον ἢ μακρολογίαν ἢ ἀντιλογίαν ἔχει, καὶ περὶ ἄλλου ἢ λοιδορίαν ἢ ἀγροικίαν, ἕτερον χρὴ λέγοντα ποιεῖν.

If Aristotle is right, Archilochus (unlike Horace) used fictional speakers as his mouthpiece. Can we trust him? His analysis cannot be checked—too little survives.<sup>71</sup> Dover thinks that *Rollenpoesie* must have been fairly widespread, and that this sort of poem would not normally be taken to express the poet's own views.<sup>72</sup> However, Aristotle seems to regard the technique as interesting and exceptional. Did it become clear in the course of each poem that Archilochus was acting a role to give voice to his own feelings? Let me provisionally accept Aristotle's interpretation, and argue its consequences.

Charon the carpenter (fr. 19 W.), says Aristotle, is Archilochus' mouthpiece. He is not ridiculed himself (the poem might have developed into a caricature of the sour-grapes modesty of the man without means), but introduced to voice criticism on the poet's behalf (ὥς Ἀρχίλοχος ψέγει), perhaps

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Fraenkel (1957) 60; Dover (1964) 207f; Führer (1967) 4.

<sup>70</sup> Arist. *Rh.* III 17,16 p. 1418<sup>b</sup>24-6.

<sup>71</sup> Dover (1964) 207.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 206-10; cf. 214-16.

attacking an *arriviste*.<sup>73</sup> Equally, in fr. 122 W., the interest is not in the character of the father, but in what he has to say about his daughter.<sup>74</sup>

For all the remaining uncertainties, the contrast with Callimachus is clear and striking. In Archilochus and in Horace, the speaker's identity is unexpected, but plausible. In their poems, the closing surprise creates dramatic consistency. Callimachus' poem is quite different. Aesop is not a plausible speaker. Polemics and address(es) must be the poet's.

In Archilochus and Horace, the disclosure of the name is immediately convincing. In Callimachus, it is problematic. Under the cloak of quoting Aesop, he enjoys the privilege of fools—but he does it blatantly and self-indulgently. The element of inconsistency draws attention to the procedure itself. Callimachus not only dons a disguise (like Archilochus), he also makes sure that we notice. 'Hedging' is not only the technique, but the topic of this poem. This is why all comments are included in the narrative, why the poem is nothing but a fable: that Callimachus may blame everything on Aesop.<sup>75</sup> And why should he do that? For this sort of thing, Aesop lost his life.<sup>76</sup>

Aesop's authority is claimed as a fig-leaf distancing the speaker from his tale, the poet from his poem.<sup>77</sup> In *Iambus* I, Callimachus had included himself among Hipponax' addressees. Here, Iambic pungency has retreated beneath the surface. Hipponactean rumbustiousness is replaced by Aesop's ironical humour. Just as Callimachus had surpassed even the new Hipponax of *Iambus* I by joining his audience, so the

<sup>73</sup> Fränkel (1969) 153f (cf. [1968] 57) supplies the polemic turn (comparing Hor. *Epod.* 4).

<sup>74</sup> Compare the paraphrase in the scholia on Aristotle quoted by West; Fränkel (1969) 159, and (1968) 57.

<sup>75</sup> Bühler (1964) 234: "Hier hat Kallimachos nicht, wie sonst, die Fabel als Einlage im Zusammenhang einer Invektive erzählt, sondern er hat umgekehrt die Invektive in die Fabel verlegt." Cf. Howald-Staiger 327; Hutchinson 52f.

<sup>76</sup> 16f look back to fr. 191,27, where Hipponax compared himself to a victim of Delphian greed. Cf. above, Ch. 1, at n. 212; Hippon. fr. 37 W. with Clayman 17; Bühler (1964) 234f. [L.A.H.-S. suggests a hit at the absurdities of fable, comparing Ar. *Av.* 472–5; see too Hollis on Ov. *Met.* VIII 240; Pl. *R.* X 620.]

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Bühler (1964) 235.

speaker of *Iambus* II follows Hipponax' teaching by abandoning his manner. In choosing Aesop as his model, the new Iambicist takes up his role as teacher, teaching himself as well as others<sup>78</sup>—or so he would have us believe. The spirit of *Iambus* I has taken root only superficially. The speaker's irony does not suggest conciliatory self-depreciation, but self-indulgence and resentment.

In *Iambus* I, the poet was in the audience. In *Iambus* II, he speaks up himself, but disclaims responsibility. In *Iambus* III, he will end on a note of self-reproach. In one sense, *Iambus* II, with the poet speaking, is the beginning of the collection proper. In another, it is part of the introductory group of three poems which lead up to open Iambic confrontation in *Iambus* IV. Only then will the poet address an opponent. But before that, he sheds his disguise in *Iambus* III.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. E. A. Schmidt (1990) 125.

### 3

## *Iambus III*

THERE are three stretches of text on two pieces of papyrus. Every line of the poem is attested:

|                                                    |                 |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>POxy.</i> VII 1011 fol. IV <sup>v</sup> 174–86  | = fr. 193,1–13  |
| <i>POxy.</i> XIX 2215 fr. 1,1–20                   | = fr. 193,5–24  |
| <i>POxy.</i> VII 1011 fol. IV <sup>r</sup> 190–205 | = fr. 193,24–39 |

The gap between the beginning of the poem on the verso of *POxy.* 1011 fol. IV and its end on the recto is bridged by *POxy.* 2215 fr. 1: it overlaps 1011 fol. IV<sup>v</sup> 178–86 at the top (1–9 = fr. 193,5–13) and fol. IV<sup>r</sup> 190 at the bottom (20 = fr. 193,24), “forming with it a combination in which every verse but one of the thirty-nine, of which as we now discover the piece consisted, is represented. I do not know that we are much better off for that, but there is no other piece of Callimachus (apart from the hymns and the epigrams) of which the same can be said”.<sup>1</sup>

It is, thus, possible to survey the poem as a whole—but this whole is very fragmentary. The general outline is clear from the *Diegesis*, the first part of which seems to correspond to the first half of the poem (*Dieg.* VI 34–7):

Καταμέμφεται τὸν καιρὸν ὡς πλούτου | μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρετῆς ὄντα, τὸν δὲ | πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀποδέχεται ὅς τῆς ἐναντίας ἦν τούτων γνώμη.

The poem starts with the poet’s wish to have lived in the past (1–5):<sup>2</sup>

Εἴθ’ ἦν, ἄναξ ὦπολλον, ἡνίκ’ οὐκ ἦα<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lobel, introduction to *POxy.* XIX 2215, pp. 38f. The same is true of *Iambus V*.

<sup>2</sup> Coppola (1935) 85f thought that *Iambus III* was spoken by Euthydemus, but the *Diegesis* implies that the speaker is the poet. Below, nn. 96, 101.

<sup>3</sup> ἦν ~ ἦα is *variatio prosodica* (pace Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, p. 163): Pfeiffer; Hopkinson (1982); Fehling (1969) 178f; Wills (1996) 461–7 (cf. 467–9, and 53; 90; 125; 394). In later Greek poetry, the phenomenon is “largely restricted to





sacrificed.<sup>11</sup> The nostalgic sigh matches the report of the *Diegesis* that the poet blames the present and praises the past. Maas's version is much more complicated (first, the beginning of a conditional protasis, with direct address, and then a temporal clause inserted), its argument unclear. The opening lines of the other *Iambi* introduce topic, speaker, and imagined situation with great economy and precision.

How did the poem continue? The *Diegesis* does not sketch its development. Did the poet first praise the past, and then blame the present?<sup>12</sup> If ἐ]λλύτης is read in 5,<sup>13</sup> this could be a sacrificial cake offered to the Muses<sup>14</sup>—but do we hear about past abundance, or present scarcity?

Before proceeding to the next section, I should say that here and elsewhere in *Iambus* III, attempts at breaking it down into sections remain tentative—more often a reflection of practical necessity than of the poem's composition. The next lines appear to have characterized present depravity, presumably in contrast to the ideal world of the past as evoked in the opening line(s) (6–10):

] . ις αὐτ' ἐποίησεν  
 ] νερθ' ἔδει κείσθαι  
 ] . ις . τί δ' οἰκεῖμεν  
 ἦ] ζόη μετέστραπται  
 ] α Φοῖβε, ληκῆσαι

10

The first letter in 6 was γ, π, or τ (the right-hand tip of the crossbar survives). In the *editio princeps*, the next word was αὐτ', but Pfeiffer observes in his apparatus that this is never elided in Callimachus. He proposes αὐτ', suspending judgement on what was written in the papyrus. In fact, a circumflex is, if not the only possible, certainly the easier interpretation of the traces.

αὐτε, then, may point to a contrast between 'then' and 'now'. Note that the tense of the verb has changed: the former state of bliss appears to have been described in the imperfect (2 ε[.] μᾶσθε, 3 ] ζεν); here, the verb is in the aorist. Is this the turning-point, or was there an aorist in the preceding gap?

<sup>11</sup> Pace Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, p. 163.

<sup>12</sup> Dawson 38.

<sup>13</sup> Very doubtful: minimal traces before υ; fibres disturbed. ] . αὐτῆς?

<sup>14</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

Wherever it occurred, the change is significant. It will reflect a single action or event that ended the Golden Age, and heralded decline and depravation.

7 may then reflect the new state of affairs.<sup>15</sup> As the parallels collected in Pfeiffer's note suggest, the words could come from a moralizing reflection on *mundus inversus*, leading up to 9 ἡ] ζόη μετέστραπται. In the next lines, Dawson finds a curse against the πρῶτος εὐρετής of metals: "Callimachus wishes that the wealth of precious metals, which according to the διήγησις he regarded with disfavor, had never been brought to light."<sup>16</sup> He supplements:<sup>17</sup>

⊖ - ∪ ἐντιμον ] τίς αὖτ' ἐποίησεν;  
τίς πρῶτος ἐξώρυξε; ] νέρθε δεῖ κείθαι.

In 8, Dawson reads αἰο]λιςτὶ δ' οἰκεῖμεν.<sup>18</sup> 'gold should rest in the earth—but as things are, we live in treachery'. This is an attractive suggestion. The τόπος is popular in later poetry (especially in Latin elegy). However, αὖτ' is problematic, and the papyrus has ] .ίςτι.<sup>19</sup> The accent argues against an adverb in -ιστί. Instead, ] .ίς .τί δ' (syntactical pause before τί is suggested by the particle).

A different view is offered by Tsiribas:<sup>20</sup> 'we should all be dead (7)—instead, we live (8)'. It is difficult to see how this could have been introduced in the limited space, and it is even less plausible to find in this line (with Tsiribas) a reference to Euthydemus' mother. In the extant text, the poet's liaison is

<sup>15</sup> If Hunt's ἐ]νερθε is right, it will have been preceded by a non-enclitic monosyllable (possibly after elision) to allow for penthemimeres: ⊖ - ∪ - ⊖ - ἐ]νερθε δεῖ κείθαι. ]νερθ' ἔδει is better suited to a counterfactual. A. S. Hollis compares Ov. *Fast.* IV 406 *eheu, perpetuo debuit illa tegi* (though of iron rather than gold); see Fantham's note; Call. fr. 110,48-50 with Pfeiffer (*Catul.* 66,48-50); also Ps.-Phoc. 42-7; Man. *Astr.* I 75.

<sup>16</sup> Dawson (1946) 4, comparing Hor. *Carm.* III 3,49-52.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Dawson 33; 38. αὖτ' is dubious, caesura after τίς unpleasant. Cf. Tib. I 3,35-50; 4,59f; II 4. Metals: A. *Pr.* 500-3 with Griffith; Hdt. I 68,4. πρῶτος εὐρετής: Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I 3,12; Call. fr. 110,49f (*Catul.* 66,49f); Tib. I 10,1-8; II 4,21-54 (esp. 27ff); cf. Della Corte (1980) 153,8.

<sup>18</sup> Dawson (1946) 5, comparing Sch.Theoc. 1,56f: Αἰολικόν, τὸ ἀπατητικόν· Αἰολίζειν γὰρ τὸ ἀπατᾶν.

<sup>19</sup> Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011,181. The first trace suggests λ, or conceivably δ: prima facie, the left angle of δ, but it could be the left foot of λ with serif.

<sup>20</sup> Tsiribas (1955) 154. Cf. Tib. II 4,39-50.

mentioned only later, by way of example. It plays no role in the opening part of the poem.

Finally: ἡ] ζόη μετέστραπται (9), a well-known τόπος.<sup>21</sup> Here, *Gegenwartsschelte* is unmistakable: μετέστραπται looks back to an earlier, better state.

The next line (10) is dark again. Another address of Phoebus—but at which stage in the development of the poem?<sup>22</sup> And what about ληκῆσαι?<sup>23</sup> From ληκάω ‘fornicate’,<sup>24</sup> or ληκέω ‘shout’?<sup>25</sup> Without context, one cannot decide.<sup>26</sup> Obscenities are not Callimachus’ style, and ληκέω may suit Φοῖβε better; but if this is a form of ληκάω, could it be a conventional dismissal—‘times have changed, *Musis laecasin dicunt*’?

Next, the focus seems to shift from general remarks on present corruption, to individual instances (11–14):

]ον· οὐντραφεῖς δ’ ὑμῖν  
] ἐκεῖνος ὦνθρωπος  
α]ῖ κακαὶ ψῆφοι  
]ονοιτ’ ἀνάσσ[ο]ντε[ς

After Φοῖβε (10), ὑμῖν (11) will address the Muses and Apollo (if they are the addressees of the opening lines).<sup>27</sup> As δέ shows, οὐντραφεῖς<sup>28</sup> must be the first word of a clause. What does it mean?

<sup>21</sup> Pfeiffer; Gerhard (1909) 45–7; 167. Penthemimeres requires a non-enclitic monosyllable before ζόη, and Hunt’s ἡ may well be right. I do not understand the fragmentary scholion on this line. ζόη: West (1974) 79; 81; Herod. 3,2.52; 4,68. Cf. Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 811–16.

<sup>22</sup> ὦν]α Φοῖβε Tsiribas.

<sup>23</sup> See Pfeiffer’s note.

<sup>24</sup> Dawson 35, and (1946) 5; cf. Tsiribas (1955) 155: ληκῆσαι· αἰσχρουργῆσαι, πορνεῦσαι. Ar. *Th.* 493; *Suda* λ 434 Adler ληκώμεθα· κινώμεθα; Hsch. λ 848 La. ληκᾶσθαι· περαίνεσθαι· καὶ τὰ αὐτά; Phot. *Lexicon* I 384 Naber ληκῆσαι· παῖσαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλησιᾶσαι τίθεται; Hsch. λ 858 La./Phot. *Lexicon* I 385 Naber ληκῶ· τὸ μόριον; cf. Pherecr. fr. 253 K.–A. Poll. V 93 begins a list of words for intercourse (τὰ τεθρυλημένα ἃ δὴ παίζουσιν οἱ κωμικοί) with ληκεῖν, not ληκᾶν. Jocelyn (1980) argues that ληκάω = βινέω, whereas λαικάζω refers to fellatio (16 with 46,37); Bain (1991) 70–2 (ληκῶ); 74–7 (λαικάζω).

<sup>25</sup> Hsch. λ 850 Latte †ληκῆσαι· [πατάξαι·] ὑλακτῆσαι, and 851 †ληκοῦσι· τὰ αὐτά (is πατάξαι paralleled in Photius ληκῆσαι· παῖσαι < παίω? or < παίζω?); 849 ληκεῖ· φοφεῖ. βοᾷ. κροτεῖ (cf. Theoc. 2,24; Sch. 276,3f Wendel; *Suda* λ 432 Adler ληκεῖν· τὸ φωνεῖν); finally, Hsch. λ 847 La. ληκεῖν· . . . τὸ πρὸς ὠδὴν ὀρχεῖσθαι.

<sup>26</sup> Bain (1991) 70.

<sup>27</sup> Puelma 250,1; Tsiribas (1955) 155.

<sup>28</sup> *POxy.* 10111: ]ν· οὐν; *POxy.* 2215: ]ονοῦν. The crasis mark (‘coronis’) takes

Puelma writes: "οὐντραφεῖς δ' ὑμῖν | . . . ἐκεῖνος ὄνθρωπος bildet den Ausgangspunkt des konkreten Beispiels, d.h. der eigentlichen 'Geschichte' um Euthydemos, der im vorletzten Vers ebenfalls als ὁ ἄνθρωπος wieder erwähnt wird".<sup>29</sup> Dawson, too, believes that "in v. 11 the poet speaks of οὐντραφεῖς δ' ὑμῖν, perhaps the ἐκεῖνος ὄνθρωπος of the next line, and almost certainly one who has been reared in the haunts of the Muses, probably Euthydemus and perhaps a pupil of Callimachus himself" (38f).<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Tsiribas states: δι' αὐτοῦ ὑπαινίσσεται τὸν Εὐθύδημον, who for him is a συνάδελφος τοῦ Καλλιμάχου.<sup>31</sup>

Two assumptions underlie this view: (a) that οὐντραφεῖς is a person (probably identical with ἐκεῖνος ὄνθρωπος in the next line), and (b) that this person is Euthydemus. The latter is unfounded,<sup>32</sup> the former ungrammatical. The passive ἐντρέφομαι 'to be raised/bred in' does not take a *dat. pers.*; the dative expresses the means or disciplines by or in which someone is educated. ὑμῖν could perhaps be regarded as a *dat. auct.*, but that would mean dissociating the dative from the prefix.

Could the difficulty be resolved by taking 'Muses' as a metonymy? Could the verb refer, not to upbringing, but to lifestyle? Is the reference to someone 'who lives with books'? Metonymical use of Μοῦσα(ι) is unproblematic<sup>33</sup>—but of a pronoun? The habitual nuance would probably be expressed, not through the participle of the aorist, but by the adjective ἐντροφος.<sup>34</sup>

the form of a smooth breathing (*passim* in the papyri of the *Iambi*; particularly frequent in *POxy.* 1011): *GMAW* 12; Laum (1928) 371 (on Sch. II. XI 636; cf. *POxy.* VIII 1082 fr. 3 col. ii 18); 429 (on Herod. 2,70). Parallels (crasis with aspirated forms of the article) from *POxy.* 1011: *Iambus* IV 22 ὠριτέρος, and 87 ἡλατη (unmarked at I 66; III 12; IV 38). Cf. Homeric ὠριτος etc. Does this notation imply psilosis? See West (1974) 85f on synecphonesis; 88f on aspiration, and psilotic spellings (cf. Cunningham on Herod., p. 214; V. Schmidt 75,4). Grammatical doctrine on crasis marks: Chandler 261–3.

<sup>29</sup> Puelma 249,1.

<sup>30</sup> Dawson 38f; cf. (1946) 6: "Even those who have been nurtured in the study of literature are guilty of some depravity."

<sup>31</sup> Tsiribas (1955) 155.

<sup>32</sup> Fraser II 1040f, 203. Stroh (1971) 120,25, argues that the 'excursus' on Euthydemus begins only at 24, and that here, the poet is speaking about himself.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. frr. 75,77; 538.

<sup>34</sup> S. OC 1362 cὐ γάρ με μόχθῳ τῶδ' ἔθηκας ἐντροφον.

Perhaps, then, οὐντραφεῖς ὑμῖν is not 'someone reared among you', but something like 'the character inculcated in you by nurture', οὐντραφεῖς ὑμῖν τρόπος (= ὁ ἔμφυτος ὑμῖν τρόπος),<sup>35</sup> providing a foil for ἐκεῖνος ὠνθρωπος (12). His identity remains obscure, but it seems that 12 preserves a trace of personal invective.<sup>36</sup> How do the next two lines fit in? Pfeiffer suggests that they might be modelled "fort. ad exemplum Hesiodi contra iudicia mala increpantis".<sup>37</sup>

The following lines appear to lead from his adversaries to the poet himself (15–18):

]ε δεξιῇ τρώγειν 15  
]λέγουσι τὰ πρῶτα.  
]ας με· φεῦ· τὸν ἄκκληρο[ν  
ἐ]πίπερ ἡμαρτες

It is not clear how these lines followed on from the preceding section. Perhaps 15f describe the primeval state ('it is told that at first') of simple contentedness.<sup>38</sup> Then, δεξιῇ (if correctly articulated) could point to a good omen, or a reliable pledge.<sup>39</sup> In 17, the poet's poverty is introduced.<sup>40</sup> The motif of the poet as poor lover is popular in later poetry, in particular in Latin elegy;<sup>41</sup> here, it leads on to the 'excursus' on Euthydemus.

<sup>35</sup> The same alternatives—(a) *de pers.*; (b) *de rebus*—are found with ἐγγίγνομαι (LSJ I.1 and 2).

<sup>36</sup> Dawson believes that the victim "must be either the misguided Euthydemus or the rich man fortunate enough to secure his services" (38).

<sup>37</sup> Hes. *Op.* 256–62; Clayman 21,27. On 13, cf. fr. 85,8; Hippon. fr. 128,3 W. = 126,3 D. (with Degani's note). In 14, Pfeiffer considers Κρ[ό]νοι τ' ἀνάσσοντες (I 505; cf. his note on fr. 393,2). Or ]ον οἱ τ' ἀνάσσοντες?

<sup>38</sup> Pfeiffer; Lobel on *POxy.* 2215 fr. 1,11f: "Possibly an allusion to the age of innocence when men ate acorns."

<sup>39</sup> Pfeiffer; cf. 27. Tsiribas (1955) 156 thinks about table manners. He compares Plu. *Mor.* 99D4f: children are taught τῇ δεξιᾷ λαμβάνειν τοῦ ὄψου τῇ δ' ἀριστερᾷ κρατεῖν τὸν ἄρτον; cf. 5A2–4; Catul. 12.

<sup>40</sup> φεῦ is parenthetical, με . . . τὸν ἄκκληρο[ν go together. Lobel on *POxy.* 2215 fr. 1; Pfeiffer; Meillier (1979) 303,13.

<sup>41</sup> In Augustan poetry, and already in Hellenistic poets, poetic poverty is widely seen as an advantage, or at least a merit: Cairns (1979) 20f; Cozzoli (1996) 132f. Callimachus, it seems, is sending up a cliché. Cf. the end of *Iambus* I, with Ch. 1 n. 220; *Epigr.* 32; 46 (hunger cures the φιλόπαις νόσος); 47; fr. 23,4 with Massimilla on fr. 25,4; *PAnt.* III 113 fr. 1b,9 (with note, and Bulloch, *CQ* 20, 1970, 275f) = *Suppl.Hell.* 239,9 (with note); *Suppl.Hell.* 253,11 (with note). Dawson (1946) 9–15; Puelma 248–53; Tarditi (1978);

Perhaps, the phrase also had a literary dimension, attacking in a Pindaric vein the *Μοῦσα ἐργάτις* of other poets.<sup>42</sup> If 15f praised the modesty of the past, Callimachus may have contrasted in 17 the neglect he has to suffer for his poverty ('but now, I . . .').<sup>43</sup> Is this still a general complaint, or were these lines already explicitly about Euthydemus? The addressee in 18 may have been Euthydemus,<sup>44</sup> it may have been someone else—and whereas the verb seems to exclude Apollo and the Muses, it would suit the poet chiding himself (unless *με* in 17 is the object).

After this, darkness (19–23):

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| ]δε . λαστ...ρεξ.[ |    |
| ]. πολλάκις.....[  | 20 |
| ]ρ...[.]...[.]...c |    |
| ]τη...ο...         |    |
| ]. οσεν[ ]...      |    |

In 19, Lobel tries *μαστὸν ὥρεξ-*. About a mother?<sup>45</sup> About Euthydemus and his mother? Did 20 contain what either of them did 'frequently'? Or is it generalizing? Nothing emerges from the next three lines.

This passage must have led on to the 'excursus' on the poet's love-affair. When the remains become more substantial again, the poet is found telling about his liaison with a certain Euthydemus (24–9):<sup>46</sup>

Meillier (1979) 155–68; Fuhrer (1992) 214,807; Cameron 139,18; D'Alessio 597,53. Cf. Theoc. 16; *AP* V 50; VI 302; 303; Hor. *Carm.* II 16,37–40 (Nisbet–Hubbard on 38, with literature on poverty and *λεπτότης*); III 2; *Laus Pisonis* 209–61. Praise of *paupertas/pietas/amor* over *divitiae/avaritia/bellum*: Catul. 24; Tib. I 1; 2,71–8; 5,59–66 (cf. 47f); 10 (cf. II 3,35–50; 4,21–54); III 3. Attack on riches: Prop. III 7; 13; 20. Greedy boys: *AP* XII 44. *Pieridum pudet*: Tib. I 9,47f; II 3,12; 4,13–20; III 4,69–72; cf. III 1,7; Verg. *Ecl.* 2,56f; contrast Prop. I 8,39f. Cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I 12,42; 18,5; 35,6; Vischer (1965); Wimmel (1968) 31f; 34f (cf. 124; 194; 253); Stroh (1971) 120–5, and 214f.

<sup>42</sup> Like fr. 222; Pi. *I.* 2,6 *de Musa operaria*; cf. Archil. fr. 208 W.; below, Ch. 8 n. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Lobel on *POxy.* 2215 fr. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Tsiribas (1955) 157.

<sup>45</sup> Lobel on *POxy.* 2215 fr. 1,15; Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>46</sup> On the name, see Dawson (1946) 10,16; Clayman 21,30; Tsiribas (1955) 158 for examples of sexual *αἰσχροκέρδεια*; D'Alessio 595,50 compares Giton, *qui ne vir esset a matre persuasus est* (Petr. 81,5).

.....]ς, ὥς[π]ερ Εὐθύδημον ἡ μήτηρ  
 ....] ἀνα νῦν οὐδὲ πῦρ ἐναύουσιν  
 ...]χαῖρ' ἔφησα .[.] .ιν .λῶ [ς]υναντήσας  
 ..]δεξιὴν ἔδωκε κ. πα ..ςπλάγχνα  
 .[.]ν ἐν ἱραῖς εἶπεν [ἡμέ]ραις ἥκειν  
 καὶ γαμβρόν ...ω ...α[.]φίλον θέσθαι

25

The general outline of this narrative can again be gathered from the *Diegesis* (VI 37–40):

παρεπικόπτει δὲ καὶ Εὐθύδημόν τινα, ὥς | κεχρημένον τῇ ὥρᾳ πορισμῶ,<sup>47</sup>  
 ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς πλουσίῳ κυσταθέντα.

Did the story of Euthydemus begin before or with 24? An earlier start might be suggested by an obscene interpretation of 10, and the motif of the poor poet in 17. One could also look for specific references to Euthydemus in 11f, and to his mother in 19. However, nothing tangible emerges. In 17, it seems easy enough to infer that the poor poet poses as poor lover—but he may still be speaking in general terms, setting the scene for the example that is taking up much of the second half of the poem.

The strongest argument against an early start of the 'excursus' is provided by ὥςπερ (24). The reading is not easily verified, but if it is correct, it may offer a clue to the basic structure of the poem. Euthydemus, it appears, is first mentioned here, as an example, presumably to illustrate a general complaint. This is confirmed by the *Diegesis*.<sup>48</sup>

The story is presented as an example of poverty scorned: it starts from the end. Εὐθύδημον ἡ μήτηρ—what has she done to him? The *Diegesis* suggests that she has broken off his liaison with the poet (VI 39f).<sup>49</sup> All socializing has come to an end—'they do not even give ⟨me⟩ fire' (25), the most elementary of social duties.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See Pfeiffer.

<sup>48</sup> *Dieg.* VI 37f παρεπικόπτει (cf. 30 on *Iambus* II). The scholion in the upper margin (above 24) remains enigmatic. I tried ἐπις[κώπτ]εται, but this is too long.

<sup>49</sup> Dawson (1946) 6 supplements: ἀφ' ἡμέων (or ὑμέων, sc. Apollo and the Muses?) γὰρ Εὐθύδημον ἡ μήτηρ | ἀπῆγ', ἀναξ· νῦν οὐδὲ πῦρ ἐναύουσιν. I cannot verify the beginning of 24; in 25, there is no room for the ξ of ἀναξ. 25 must have contained what is reflected in *Dieg.* VI 40 πλουσίῳ κυσταθέντα; the plural will be Euthydemus and his mother.

<sup>50</sup> Hdt. VII 231 (sign of ἀτιμῆς). For further examples and literature, see

From its end, the poet turns to the beginning of the affair. He and Euthydemus (probably not his mother) meet (*συναντήσας*; either with *ἔφησα*, or with *ἔδωκε*), perhaps 'in the street' (*[κ]ῆν ὁδῶ*).<sup>51</sup> Euthydemus (or his mother) makes a promise (27).<sup>52</sup> *καὶ παρὰ σπλάγχνα* seems possible, but cannot be read with certainty. What would it mean? Did Euthydemus 'strike the poet to the heart'?<sup>53</sup> Or did he make his pledge 'over the entrails' of a sacrifice?<sup>54</sup>

The following two lines (28f) look like the content of the agreement. 28 is difficult: does *ἐν ἱεραῖς . . . [ἡμέ]ραις* go with *εἶπεν*

Pfeiffer; Tsiribas (1955) 159; Bühler (1964) 242; Dawson 35; Clayman 21; D'Alessio 598,54.

<sup>51</sup> Pfeiffer II 118; Babr. 75,11.

<sup>52</sup> *τῆν*] (a little long) Coppola (1933-4) 4. *ὁς*] *δεξιὴν ἔδωκε κ[αί] παρὰ σπλάγχνα* Gallavotti. Most of 27 is illegible. For an *exempli gratia* restoration, see Dawson (1946) 7:

ὅτε] *χαῖρ' ἔφησα [τῶ] κ[α]λῶ συναντήσας  
τῆν] δεξιὴν ἔδωκε κ[αί] τ' ἐ[μὰ] σπλάγχνα  
τέρπων] ἐν ἱεραῖς εἶπεν ἡμέραις ἥκειν  
καὶ γαμβρὸν [ἡξί]ω[σε] καὶ φίλον θέσθαι.*

*τέρπων* is too long. A very different line of thought is pursued by Tsiribas (1955) 168 (text); 169 (translation); 173 (paraphrase). 'His mother dishonoured Euthydemus (*[ἡτίμα]ς[εν γὰρ] Εὐθύδημον ἢ μήτηρ*), and he is in public disgrace (*[ῶ οὖν]. . . νῦν οὐδὲ πῦρ ἐναύουσιν*). To him I said: get lost (160: *ἔρρέτω, ἐς κόρακας*)! And yet, he saluted me in the street . . .'. This does not fit the *Diegesis*: why is Euthydemus 'dishonoured' by his mother? (Had she prostituted him as in n. 46? For the consequent *ἀτιμία*, see Aeschin. 1.) And how is one to see that *χαῖρε* means *ἐς κόρακας*, and that *καί* means *καίτοι* (160)?

<sup>53</sup> LSJ C.I.3; something like *καὶ παρὰ σπλάγχνα | βαλὼν*? (*βαλὼν* is too long for the beginning of 28.) For *σπλάγχνα* = *καρδιά*, see LSJ II; D'Alessio 598,55; Dawson (1946) 7,11 quotes Theoc. 7,99, and Mosch. 1,17. See Herod. 1,56f and 3,42 with Headlam and Cunningham; Theodorus Prodrōmus, *Rhodanthe et Dosicles* II 191 *σπαραχθεὶς ὡς βέλει τὴν καρδίαν*; cf. 229; 314f; 359; 426; 480f; VII 311.

<sup>54</sup> Dawson (1946) 7; D'Alessio 598,55; Tsiribas (1955) 161, and 168: *ζῶω]ν* (28, too long). Coppola (1935) 84-6 finds in these lines the making and breaking of a marriage contract; cf. Dawson 38; Dawson (1946) 6. Oath *ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων*: LSJ *τόμιον*; A. *Th.* 43f with Hutchinson; Ar. *Lys.* 181-98 with Henderson and Sommerstein on 186 and 192 (parody of A. *Th.* 43f: Rau [1967] 198); Ar. *Ra.* 101 with Dover; Hdt. VI 68,1; Th. V 47,8; X. *An.* II 2,9; Aeschin. 1, 114; And. 1, 126; cf. Arist. *Ath.* 7,1, and 55,5 (with Rhodes; Poll. VIII 86); Paus. III 20,9 with Hitzig-Blümner and Frazer (cf. IV 15,8; V 24,9); Eust. on Il. III 273. Burkert (1985) 250-4; Nilsson (1967) 139-42; Stengel (1920) 86; cf. (1883) 376-8; (1910) 78-85; (1914). In general: Hirzel (1902).



or with ἤκειν? What does it mean?<sup>55</sup> Who is the subject of ἤκειν? Dawson translates: "he gave me his right hand and then, to my heart's delight, assured me he had come at the best of times".<sup>56</sup> Or 'that I had come at the best of times'? Or, with Euthydemus as subject, 'he promised to come'?<sup>57</sup> The boy's promise emerges from 29 (with von Arnim's supplement): καὶ γαμβρὸν ἡξίωσε κα[ὶ] φίλον θέσθαι.<sup>58</sup>

I have assumed that, in what is related about Euthydemus, the speaker himself is the lover. What is the evidence? The *Diegesis* is silent. There are traces of first-person narrative in 26, 30, 31, and 33 (where I read ἐξεκνήμωσα). The meeting in 26 must be between the poet and Euthydemus (or his mother). At the end, when disappointment takes over, the emotions are those of the narrator. It seems clear that he hoped to win Euthydemus for himself. This is confirmed by the echoes in Tibullus.<sup>59</sup>

Why, then, does the *Diegesis* fail to mention the relationship? Is it just incompetence? There is more to it. The *Diegesis* reflects the strategy of the speaker, and the structure of the poem. The speaker introduces his own grievances as mere illustration of general moral reflections. He feels personally offended, and dresses up these feelings as moral outrage. His own involvement emerges only incidentally. The *Diegesis* mirrors this argumentative technique.

Again, as in the case of *Iambus* II, the effect of that technique, the characteristic thematic shift from the general to the particular, is lost in the *Diegesis*. *Iambus* III starts out pretend-

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Tsiribas (1955) 161. Coppola (1933-4) 4 reads θεῶν at the beginning of 28; in my tracing, it fits neatly.

<sup>56</sup> Dawson (1946) 8; cf. Dawson 37: "he clasped my hand [and swore, to my delight,] | that his arrival had been fortunate." See also Tsiribas (1955) 161.

<sup>57</sup> For present replacing future tense with verbs of going, see K.-G. I 139 (6).

<sup>58</sup> Most of 29 is illegible. Not, it seems, ἡξίωσα (cf. Lys. 3, 5). On γαμβρός 'lover', see LSJ IV; Bühler (1964) 242f; D'Alessio 599,56. φίλον θέσθαι: *AP* XII 19,1.

<sup>59</sup> Tib. I 8 (esp. 27-40); 9; and, above all, I 4 (esp. 57-72, and 81-4): 57 *heu male nunc artes miseras haec saecula tractant* (cf. fr. 193,1.9); 59f *at tua, qui venerem docuisti vendere primus*, | *quisquis es, infelix urgeat ossa lapis* (cf. fr. 193,7?); 70 with fr. 193,35f (same theme, different context?). Dawson (1946); Luck (1969) 83-99, esp. 97; Bulloch (1973) 75; 77; 79f; 81; Bright (1978) 176; 229f; 236; 239f; Della Corte (1980) 153-7; Ball (1983) 74; 76; 122; 135; 141.

ing to be a poem about ἀρετή. It is really about an offended poet.<sup>60</sup>

On the closing lines, Pfeiffer comments: "fort. excursu de Euthydemo (παρεπικόπτει Dieg.) finito poeta 30–9 de se ipse loquitur":

..υ[...]. . . χε[...]. κρηγύως ἐπαιδεύθην 30  
 ..[...]. ἐ]φρόνησα τῶγαθὸν βλέψαι  
 ]τε καὶ θεοὺς ἀπρηγεῦντας  
 ].. μόχθηρος ἐξεκνήμωσ[...]  
 ]..ν μοι τοῦτ' ἂν ἦν ὀνήϊς[το]ν  
 ..υ[...]. . . K[υβή]βη τὴν κόμην ἀναρρίπτειν 35  
 Φρύγ[α] πρ[ὸς] αὐλὸν ἢ ποδῆρες ἔλκοντα  
 Ἄδω[ν]ιν αἰαῖ, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
 ἰηλεμίζειν· νῦν δ' ὁ μάργος ἐς Μούσας  
 ἔνευσα· τοίγα[ρ] ἦν ἔμαξα δέν[...]. σω.

The story continues (aorists in 30, 31, 33), but third-person narrative is replaced by first-person narrative. The focus moves from Euthydemus' actions to the poet's reaction. The narrative concludes by returning to its starting-point, the poet's rejection.

26–9 contain Euthydemus' promise, 32f the poet's complaints of injustice (i.e. the promise broken); how do 30f fit in? Perhaps 'I was brought up honestly, (and trusted him, suspected no deceit)'.<sup>61</sup> If so, the aorist in 30 refers to the distant, that in 31 to the recent past:<sup>62</sup> 'I was brought up honestly, and

<sup>60</sup> Above, n. 48; Clayman 22; cf. Theoc. 16. For changing *Sprechsituation* in Tibullus, cf. Cairns (1979) 143; Neumeister (1986) 59–68, esp. 66–8; 150f.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Tib. I 9,37 *at non ego fallere doctus*. Pfeiffer; Clayman 60. κρήγυος is a favourite of choliambic poets: Herod. 4,46 with Cunningham; 6,39 with Headlam; Phoen. fr. 6,4 P. with Gerhard (1909) 108; Theoc. *Ep.* 19,3 (epitaph on Hipponax) with Gow (who concludes that "the word was presumably used by Hipponax"). Cf. Archil. fr. 24,5 W.?.; Gow on Theoc. 20,19. Its meaning is 'good, honest' (adv. 'honourably'; LSJ 1, and *Rev. Suppl.* 1a). Misunderstanding of Il. I 106 spawned the use 'true, real' (LSJ 2; Headlam on Herod. 6,39; Leumann [1950] 33f). Callimachus uses the word in its correct (Hipponactean?) sense, but the later development gives it a special nuance: 'I was brought up honourably', to be ἀληθής: 'truthful, honest' (LSJ I.2).

<sup>62</sup> Pace Howald–Staiger 331: "Das ist ihm eine Lehre: κρηγύως ἐπαιδεύθην, 'ich wurde tüchtig erzogen'", i.e. 'I have learnt my lesson'. In 31, Coppola (1933–4) 4 reads ἐξ [οὐπερ ἐ]φρόνησα; the tracing fits.

thought (when I met you) that I had found the Good—but now I see the gods idle, have wrought my own ruin, and should have served Cybele or Adonis rather than Apollo and the Muses.’ How does he react? By complaining, in this prayer, to the gods. Again, as in *Iambus* II, Callimachus avoids open confrontation with the victim of his attack.<sup>63</sup>

The speaker’s complaints are put in an idiosyncratic way. Has 31 (‘I thought I had found the Good’) mock-Platonic overtones?<sup>64</sup> Plato’s mysterious Good is a frequent subject of jokes in comedy.<sup>65</sup> ‘Seeing’ the Good is a central Platonic notion, and the highest possible achievement.<sup>66</sup> Here, the phrase stands out as overambitious. The speaker gets it wrong. (Typical: he is a poet.) He confuses his passion for an individual boy with the pursuit of the Good. For Plato, *ἔρως* plays an important role,<sup>67</sup> but the philosopher will leave the love for individuals behind: erotic passion is a necessary, but transitory step.<sup>68</sup> The philosopher’s *ἔρως* will be transformed—the poet’s is not.

<sup>63</sup> Contrast the broken oaths in Hippon. fr. 115 W., and Hor. *Epod.* 15.

<sup>64</sup> Did Callimachus use the name Euthydemus for its Platonic resonances (above, n. 46)? I do not find any connections with the *Euthydemus*, but Plato is present in the *Iambi*: see below, Ch. 4 n. 6; Ch. 8, at n. 75; Ch. 10, at nn. 64 and 76.

<sup>65</sup> On Plato, there are some twenty fragments (D.L. III 26–8, and elsewhere), esp. Alex. fr. 1; 98; 151; 163; 185 K.–A. with Arnott; cf. Aristophon fr. 8 K.–A.; Epicr. fr. 10 K.–A. τὸ Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν: Alex. fr. 98 K.–A. with Arnott; Amphis fr. 6 K.–A.; Philippid. fr. 6 K.–A. Cf. Helm (1906) 371–86; Weiher (1913); Webster (1970) 50–6; Brock (1990) 41; Nesselrath (1990) 277; 294, 24.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Seeing’ the Good: *passim*, e.g. *Smp.* 210f. The supreme achievement/μέγιστον μάθημα: *R.* VI 504A–506B; cf. 506DE; 509A4f; B8–10. At the end of a long and laborious ascent/regress to the ἀνυπόθετον: *R.* IV 445C5; V 474D–479E; the similes of the sun, the line, the cave (VI 506B–VII 518B), esp. VI 511B; VII 532E3; cf. *Chrm.* 174BC; *Ly.* 219CD; *Phd.* 99D–107B, esp. 101DE, and 107B; *Smp.* 210f; *Phdr.* 246–9; *Ti.* 53D6f; *Ep.* 7, 341C. Hdt. III 81,2 (καλόν without the article) is different.

<sup>67</sup> *Σωκράτης ἐρωτικός*: *Smp.* 177D7f; 193E5; 198D1f; 212B5f; cf. *Thg.* 128B; *Chrm.* 155CD; *Ly.* 206A; *Phdr.* 243E. *ἔρως φιλόσοφος*: *Smp.* 203D7; E5; 204AB.

<sup>68</sup> *Smp.* 210f, esp. 210A, and 211B; *Phdr.* 249B2. Cf. *Phdr.* 251A1 (254B1); 254A–E; 255E–256A; *Lg.* I 636C5–7; VIII 836C5f; 840D; 841D. In *Smp.*, physical homosexual love of an individual is a necessary first step; *Phdr.* warns against it; in *Lg.*, it is condemned as *παρὰ φύσιν*. Different settings are chosen

In 32, the papyrus has ἀπρηγεῦνται. With θεούς, the verb cannot be passive, and the middle is not attested.<sup>69</sup> Thus, θεοὺς ἀπρηγεῦνται cannot mean 'they neglect the gods'. Von Arnim and Housman propose θεοὺς ἀπρηγεύντας, 'the gods doing nothing'. Dawson finds this "unsuitable": "Epicurean insouciance on the part of the gods does not harmonize with the general tone of the poem".<sup>70</sup> That is not the point of the conjecture. The gods are idle, because lovers' vows are broken with impunity.<sup>71</sup> The speaker must have complained that Euthydemus has broken his promise and the gods do nothing.<sup>72</sup>

Complaints continue in 33. The papyrus accentuates μόχθηρος. Grammatical doctrine has it that μόχθηρος means ὁ ἐπίπονός, whereas μοχθηρός is ὁ τὰ ἥθη πονηρός.<sup>73</sup> μόχθηρος will, then, be the poet pitying himself.

What about ἐξεκνήμωσ .[?<sup>74</sup> Dawson disregards the accent on μόχθηρος, prints μοχθηρὸς ἐξεκνήμωσ .[, and translates: "the

(a *συμπόσιον*; an act of *παιδαγωγία*; and of *νομοθεσία*) to articulate changing views.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Tsiribas (1955) 164. His supplement *νῦν δὲ θεάς*] *τε* is too long.

<sup>70</sup> Dawson (1946) 7,12; cf. the translation at Dawson 37 (where he accepts the middle); Handel's *Serse* II 7.

<sup>71</sup> Call. *Epigr.* 25,3f Pf. (with Gow–Page on *HE* 1093f); Hes. fr. 124 M.–W.; *AP* V 8; 52; 133; 175; Catul. 64,59. 132–48 (cf. 239f; 65,17); 70,3f (cf. 72); 76,3f; Tib. I 4,21–6 (cf. 6,7f); 9,1–6; III 6,47–50; Prop. I 15,25–8. 33–8; II 16,47f. 53f; 28,8; III 20,21f; 24,20?; IV 7,21f; Verg. *Ecl.* 8,19f. 35; *A.* IV 52of; Hor. *Epod.* 15,1–11; Ov. *Am.* III 3,1; *Ars* I 631–58; D'Alessio 599,58; Cameron 504. Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia* II 4,90; Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* II 2,92f; John Donne, *Womans constancy*; Goethe, *Alexis und Dora* 149. 'Winds & waves': Catul. 30,10; Tib. I 5,35f. 76; 6,53f; 9,11f. 49f; II 4,40; III 6,27f; 10,8; Prop. I 8,12; Verg. *Ecl.* 3,73; Ov. *Am.* II 11,33f; *Ars* I 388. Cf. West (1997) 238; 548; Handel's *Serse* II 1. *impia lingua*: Tib. I 2,79–86; 3,51f; III 4,16; 10,14f.

<sup>72</sup> For the opposite motif (the wicked are punished, and someone exclaims: *εἰς θεοῖ*), see Carey, *JHS* 106, 1986, 179,32; Denniston on E. *El.* 583–4; cf. Od. XXIV 351f (with West [1997] 436, and 570); Hdt. II 141; E. *HF* 757–9; Verg. *Ecl.* 8,35; Prop. I 8,41; Ov. *Am.* III 9,35f; Juv. 13,86–119; Claudian, *In Rufinum* I 1–24 with Levy, and Alan Cameron, *CQ* 18, 1968, 388. Parody: *AP* XII 39,4 *εἰς τριχες*; Tarán (1985); Cameron (1993) 226f.

<sup>73</sup> Pfeiffer; LSJ; Wilamowitz on E. *HF*, II 99,182 (cf. his note on line 10).

<sup>74</sup> Hsch. ε 3675 La. ἐξεκνημώθη· ἐξεφθάρη; κ 3114 κνημωθῆναι· φθαρῆναι; κ 3115 κνημῶσαι· περιχῶσαι, φράξαι. φθεῖραι. κλείσαι. περιελθεῖν. Hippon. fr. 95,9 W. παρεκνημοῦντο (West compares Hsch. παρεκναμενοῦντο· παρεπιπορεύοντο ἐπιπόνως).

scoundrel broke his word".<sup>75</sup> The doctrine behind the accent may be a grammatical chimera, but it provides a clue for interpretation: ὁ ἐπίπονος should be a possible paraphrase. The various pieces of evidence can be reconciled, if not 3rd, but 1st pers. sg. is read:<sup>76</sup> μόχθηρος ἐξεκνήμωσα, 'miserable wretch that I am, I ruined (myself, my prospects)'.<sup>77</sup>

In 34, Euthydemus is left behind. The poet draws the conclusion for himself and for his art: "mihi utilius fuit me cultui Cybebae aut Adonidis dedere quam Musarum", ut videtur" (Pfeiffer).<sup>77</sup> The implied comparison is derogatory.<sup>78</sup> Better to be an effeminate Gallus—helplessness turns into self-aggression, at least for the moment.<sup>79</sup>

37 has caused difficulties. Dawson takes αἰαῖ τῆς θεοῦ together and translates: "mourn . . . the mortal Adonis, crying 'Alas for Aphrodite!'"<sup>80</sup> However, αἰαῖ takes the accusative.<sup>81</sup> Tsiribas translates: ἄχ! ὡς Ἀδωνιν τῆς θεᾶς τὸν ἄνθρωπον νὰ θρηνῶ.<sup>82</sup> He refers τὸν ἄνθρωπον to Euthydemus.<sup>83</sup> Comparison without

<sup>75</sup> Dawson 36f. Likewise Tsiribas (1955) 164, with a supplement that does not scan (169). Dawson (1946) 7f proposed:

κἀγὼ τότ', ὅσπερ] κρηγύως ἐπαιδεύθην,  
ἦσθην τε καὶ] φρόνησα τῷγαθὸν βλέψαι.  
ἀλλ' εὐσεβές] τε καὶ θεοὺς ἀπρηγεῦνται  
οἱ νῦν· ὁ δ' οὖν] μόχθηρος ἐξεκνήμωσε  
τὰ πιετὰ· νῦν] μοι κτλ.

I cannot verify 30. A tracing of 31 fits well. The supplement in 32 is vitiated by ἀπρηγεῦνται. μόχθηρος in 33 may be a misprint, because he goes on to translate (8): "the wretch broke (his promise)".

<sup>76</sup> Neither -ce nor -ca can be verified. Howald-Staiger 331: "In seiner Verzweiflung scheint er sich an die Götter gewendet zu haben: μόχθηρος ἐξεκνήμωσα θεοὺς ἀπρηγεῦντας, 'ich belästigte in meinem Unglück die Götter, die sich doch um nichts kümmern'."

<sup>77</sup> 34 τότ' οὖν λίην] Tsiribas (1955) 169; ἀλλ' ὡς δοκεῖ]ν Gallavotti. 35 κ]ν[δρῆ] Ardizzoni (1960) 18; ο]ύ[λῆν] Tsiribas (1955) 165; λ]ν[τῆν] Gallavotti; χ]ύ[δην] Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79 (comparing fr. 228, 11; E. Ba. 456; Nic. Ther. 503).

<sup>78</sup> Fraser I 786; Schwinge (1986) 68, 60.

<sup>79</sup> Bacchic associations of the dance: Pfeiffer on 35. The dress: Pfeiffer on 36, and I 505; Fraenkel on A. Ag. 898. The Phrygian αὐλός: West (1992) 91f (cf. 94, 70), and (1997) 31.

<sup>80</sup> Dawson 37; cf. (1946) 8: "to cry in lament for the mortal Adonis, 'Alas, for the goddess!'" ; Fraser II 1040, 202.

<sup>81</sup> LSJ; *passim* in Bion, *Adonidis epitaphium* (with Fantuzzi and Reed); cf. Ar. Lys. 393.

<sup>82</sup> Tsiribas (1955) 170.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. his paraphrase (173), and 166; likewise Puelma 249, 1.

ὥς<sup>84</sup>—‘to mourn for Euthydemus as for Adonis’—would be difficult to understand, and it would destroy the parallelism of ἀναρρίπτειν (35) and ἠλεμίζειν (38). Callimachus does not say: ‘better to worship Cybele, tossing my hair, and lamenting for—Euthydemus as though for Adonis’. What he says is: ‘better to worship Cybele, tossing my hair, or lament for Adonis’. The overall structure is quite clear:

- |                                 |                             |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) . . . τὴν κόμην ἀναρρίπτειν | (b) Φρύγα πρὸς αὐλὸν        |
| (b) ἢ ποδῆρες ἔλκοντα           | (a) Ἀδωνιν . . . ἠλεμίζειν. |

The last phrase, Ἀδωνιν . . . ἠλεμίζειν, refers to the ἱαλεμός, the cultic lament for Adonis. ἠλεμίζω is the *vox propria*,<sup>85</sup> and the words sandwiched between object and infinitive epitomize the ritual dirge.<sup>86</sup> ἄνθρωπος, not ἀνὴρ or πόσις, to hint at the tragic subject of these songs: ‘the (mortal) man of the goddess’, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.<sup>87</sup>

Why this comparison? Why should it be better to worship Cybele than the Muses? Is he just saying ‘better dead/mad than . . .’ (without implying a positive comparison)? ‘Better to be engaged in a crazed cult—because the Muses are even worse’? The contrast set up by τοῦτ’ ἄν (34)—νῦν δ(έ) (38) looks rather more pointed—what is the point?

Pfeiffer proposes the following paraphrase: “Musarum amans pauper, ut in toto iambo monstravit, libidinem suam satiare nequit; sin autem eunuchus Cybebes (vel mulier Adonidem lamentans) esset, hac libidine liber esset’: fort. haec fere poeta iocatur.” But Galli are still libidinous.<sup>88</sup>

Nor would it make sense for the poet to say: ‘I wish I were a

<sup>84</sup> K.–G. II 495 (9).

<sup>85</sup> See Pfeiffer on 38; Gow on Theoc. 15,98.

<sup>86</sup> For αἰαῖ/αἰάζω, see Bion, *Adonidis epitaphium*, *passim*. Cf. West (1997) 261–4. For τῆς θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, cf. Bion 29 ὦλεσε τὸν καλὸν ἄνδρα, and 54 τὸν ἐμὸν πόσις; Theoc. 15,131 νῦν μὰν Κύπρις ἔχοισα τὸν αὐτὰς χαιρέτω ἄνδρα. Thus, ἄνθρωπος will not mean ‘slave’ here (Pfeiffer’s suggestion; cf. LSJ I.7). Either ‘to lament Adonis, the slave of the goddess’; or ‘to lament Adonis as slave of the goddess’, sc. ἐμέ, with slight change of construction from μοι (35) under the influence of prospective τοῦτο (35) and after ἔλκοντα (36). Article (τὸν ἄνθρωπον) and word-order argue against this.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Il. II 821 θεὰ βροτῶ ἐννηθεία; XVI 176 γυνὴ θεῶ ἐννηθεία.

<sup>88</sup> In Apuleius, for instance; cf. Tib. I 4,70; Prop. II 22,15f; III 17,35f; IV 7,61f.

woman'.<sup>89</sup> Euthydemus does not object to men, but to poverty. Puelma thinks that Callimachus is "vor Eifersucht rasend wie ein Kybele-Jünger";<sup>90</sup> but the lines are not about jealousy, nor do they say 'I'm just like . . .'—it is rather 'I wish I were . . .'.

Could the lines refer to the wealth of the Galli: 'there I might have made some money'?<sup>91</sup> *δνῆϊς*[το]ν (34) is not just 'best', but 'most profitable'.<sup>92</sup> If so, the speaker turns into a would-be buyer. 'Nobody honours the Muses', he complained—now he is leaving them himself. All moral pretensions fall away: he would be happy to pay if he could!

Whatever else these cults are meant to suggest, they are chosen to insult the Muses. Singing and dancing is theirs. Here, the poet considers dancing for Cybele, and lamenting Adonis. He threatens to oust the Muses from their domain. The alternative is something no self-respecting poet would even contemplate.<sup>93</sup>

In the last two lines, this vision is cast aside. However disgruntled, the poet returns to the Muses. Aggressiveness turns into self-reproach: 'fool that I am, I followed the Muses'.<sup>94</sup> He ends with a proverb: 'now I shall eat the bread I kneaded'.<sup>95</sup>

What is going on in this poem? How does it develop? As in the

<sup>89</sup> Fraser II 1094,492. Pfeiffer on 36: "in cultu Adonidis mulieres ἐπὶ κυρὰ κόλπον ἀνείσαι Theocr. XV 134" (the line begins *λύεσθαι δὲ κόμαν*).

<sup>90</sup> Puelma 248.

<sup>91</sup> *Rhet.Her.* IV 62 *divitias suas iactans sicut Gallus ex Phrygia*; Stroh (1971) 120,25.

<sup>92</sup> LSJ *δνείος* B; *Iambus* I 67, and above, Ch. 1 n. 120.

<sup>93</sup> The *Ἀδώνια* are not even for hacks: Cratin. fr. 17 K.-A. Cf., in general, Ar. *Lys.* 387–98; Pherecr. fr. 181 K.-A.; Theoc. 15; *AP* VI 220; Catul. 63 (with Syndikus II 76–80); Tib. I 3,23–6; Ov. *Am.* III 9,33f; West (1997) 44; 57; 448; 530. Further literature: Graf (1997) 504. For the "rhetorical use of an impious paradox-wish", see West on Hes. *Op.* 270–2, and (1997) 323.

<sup>94</sup> "μάργος prob. 'libidinosus'" (Pfeiffer); Q.S. X 472; Colluth. 198; Triph. 167; 434; Musae. 123. Synonymous with *μωρός*? Cf. LSJ; Tsiribas (1955) 167; Meillier (1979) 159f; note too Mart. IX 73,7. A reference to gluttony? For the article, see K.-G. I 620, Anm. 2—is there a derogatory nuance (Fraenkel [1963]; Lloyd-Jones [1990b] 205f)? On *ἐνευκα*, see Pfeiffer's note, and I 505. Cf. Herod. 3,1. 71. 83. 97.

<sup>95</sup> Hippon. fr. 78,13 W. *κυκάμινα* δ[ει]π[νήσας]. In my tracing, *δει[πν]ήσω* fits exactly. The bottom of δ is not visible; ε or θ good; ν uncertain (the oblique may well be a darkened fibre). Cf. Bühler on Zen.Ath. II 34 (IV p. 268); *Suppl.Hell.* 239,9. Tsiribas (1955) 167 *δεν[νά]σω*; Coppola (1933–4) 8 *δεν[δρ]ώσω* (in the belief that the poem continued with the fable of olive and laurel).

first two poems, the *Sprechsituation* is defined in the opening line: the speaker is the poet, his words form a monologue, addressed to the poet's gods. This Iambus is cast in the form of a prayer.<sup>96</sup>

The poem starts with *Zeitkritik*. It moves from a general statement to particular cases and individual examples; as in *Iambus II*, personal attacks are inserted as illustrations.<sup>97</sup> In both cases, the speaker is at pains to hide his private agenda.

*Zeitkritik* is thoroughly conventional. Several poetic diatribes against αἰσχροκέρδεια (roughly contemporary, also in scazons) survive—all of them examples of bland, straightforward moralizing.<sup>98</sup> Callimachus sends up the cliché, and mocks his speaker's pompous self-regard. *Iambus III* is *Zeitkritik* with illustrations, but Euthydemus, the final example, is also more than that. He is what the poem is all about.<sup>99</sup>

The shift of theme in the course of the poem—from general reflection to the poet's own experiences and concerns—may be compared with *Iambus II*. There, indignation about Zeus' ruling shows no concern for its victims, the animals. Here, the speaker poses as a moralist—but all too clearly for the wrong reason. "Here is no moralist speaking; Callimachus has no objections to wealth as such; it is his own lack of it that inspires his complaints."<sup>100</sup> The poet laughs at the disgruntled sermonizing of his speaker. Callimachus keeps turning against himself.

The poet laments the weakness of his poetry—this is no *Notwehrdichtung*, no poetry of revenge, fighting for justice.<sup>101</sup> Thus, the poet concludes, there is no point in serving the

<sup>96</sup> Tsiribas (1955) 171f (doxography of misled theories about the identity of the speaker). No elements typical of religious language: Norden (1913) 143–76.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Clayman 22; *Dieg.* VI 30 παρεπικόπτων; 37f παρεπικόπτει.

<sup>98</sup> *PLond.* 155 + *PBodl.* Ms. Gr. class. f. 1 (*Coll. Alex.* pp. 213–16); *PHeid.* 310,1–73 (*Coll. Alex.* pp. 216–19); Phoen. fr. 6 P.; cf. Gerhard (1909), and A. D. Knox (1929). See also the elegy *Coll. Alex.* pp. 130f with Dawson (1946) 13. Cf. Dawson (1946) 9; Puelma 354–7; Bühler (1964) 243,1; Clayman 66–71; D'Alessio 597,53.

<sup>99</sup> Puelma 249; Bühler (1964) 241f; Howald–Staiger: "der eigentliche Zweck des Gedichtes".

<sup>100</sup> Dawson (1946) 10.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Puelma 249. Bühler (1964) compares Archilochus' poems against Lycambes and Neobule (241–4, esp. 243f; *pace* Fraser II 1041,203). Coppola (1933–4) even believed that the speaker of 24–39 was Archilochus himself, telling his misfortunes. Power and weakness of poetry: Thgn. 237–54; cf. Tib. II 4.



Muses—but as he says this in a poem, it is said tongue in cheek. There is no final farewell, and as in Vergil, *Catalepton* 5, the dismissal is revoked in the end. Still, the coarseness of the imagined alternative reflects on the image of poetry.<sup>102</sup>

What, then, is this poem about? “Callimachus attacks wealth in *Iamb* 3 because his lack of it has cost him a lover.”<sup>103</sup> “Fables give way to current events, and all of the moralizing on the corrupting power of wealth in the opening lines is motivated less by high-mindedness than by the fact that the poet’s sex life is being ruined by lack of money.”<sup>104</sup> (There will be more παιδοκλέπτει in *Iambi* IV and V.)

However, Callimachus’ concern is not with αἰσχροκέρδεια as such. This is a poem about moralizing, and moralizers. Behind the mask of august principles, there lurks unsatisfied desire. Gods are called upon (32)—to improve the poet’s love-life. The speaker’s motives are revealed, his pompous sermonizing undercut, and turned into laughter.

*Iambi* I–III go together very closely. A vague and distant past provides a foil: the old masters in I and II, the Golden Age in II and III. Before this foil, Callimachus establishes his own voice, gradually and slowly. In *Iambus* III, he speaks openly for the first time, but still in the privacy of prayer. In IV, we finally find him in direct confrontation. Has the speaker taken Hipponax’ words to heart? His slyness in II and III makes one doubtful.

<sup>102</sup> Differently Puelma: “. . . das heißt der Dichter will seinen Musen die Treue wahren und zu ihnen halten, auch wenn dies ihm zeitweise Nachteile bringt, wie in diesem Falle, da er nicht mit dem reichen Nebenbuhler konkurrieren konnte” (251). Has he got a choice? The last line sounds more like a sulky ‘serves me right’. Cf. Dawson (1946) 8: “The moral Callimachus draws from his experience with Euthydemus is that he might well be employed in other callings than that of poet or teacher. But that cannot be; he has made literature his calling, foolish as that may be.”

<sup>103</sup> Clayman 70.

<sup>104</sup> Clayman 22. Cf. Fraser I 740: “Evidently, Callimachus was not writing here as a moralist, but as a thwarted lover, and the poem as a whole is essentially a record of an unsatisfactory love affair with a boy whose mother found a more prosperous client for him than the supposedly needy poet. We are probably justified in assigning it, like *Epigram* 32, to the early days of Callimachus’ residence in the capital, when he was finding the economic competition involved in homosexual relations a considerable strain.”

## *Iambus IV*

THE collection opens with four pieces in scazons. Each of these poems has its own quasi-dramatic situation: in I, the ghost of Hipponax lectures the Alexandrian ποιηταὶ ἅμα καὶ κριτικοί; in II, the poet tells a fable to a certain Andronicus; in III, Callimachus complains to Apollo and the Muses. In *Iambus IV*, the poet quarrels with 'one of his rivals' (πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐφαλίλλων *Dieg.* VII 2f), and is interrupted by a certain Cίμος (*Dieg.* VII 3). He takes offence, turns on the intruder, and calls him a Θρᾶξ (and παιδοκλέπτης? *Dieg.* VII 2–6):

Διεφέρετο ὁ ποιητὴς πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐφαλίλλων· Cίμος δέ τις παρατυχῶν παρυπέκρουεν ἄμφω παρενδεικνύμενος ἴσος εἶναι. Θρᾶκα δέ φησιν αὐτὸν καθεστάναι (—) παιδοκλέπτης ἐστί.

This summary is borne out by the remains of the poem itself. For the first time, the poet fights openly, and he attacks not only one opponent, but two. The text is almost completely preserved: here, if anywhere, we should be able to enjoy a Callimachean *Iambus* in all its intricacy and richness.

Of the first twelve lines, *POxy.* VII 1011 fol. IV<sup>r</sup> preserves only the beginnings, but the opening line survives in *Dieg.* VII 1:

*Eἶς—οὐ γάρ ;—ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδεω, καὶ σύ*

Briskly and succinctly, it sets the scene, and determines the tone. The speaker is part of an unspecified group (ἡμεῖς). His addressee is a certain Cίμος (*Dieg.* VII 3). The name has Iambic potential.<sup>1</sup> It will have been mentioned in the opening lines. Direct address is a common feature of Iambic verse.<sup>2</sup> Beneath

<sup>1</sup> Pfeiffer; Dawson 53; above, Ch. I n. 158. Hughes 202,48 compares *Physiogn.* I 429,6f. Cίμος is a very common name (see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*). Χαριτάδης is very rare (only one entry in the *Lexicon* II 476: Athens, 4th cent. BC).

<sup>2</sup> Archil. fr. 131,1; 185,1 W., and (from the beginnings of poems) fr. 168,1; 172,1 W.; Hippon. fr. 118,1 W. Puelma 316,4; cf. Bühler (1964) 251f.

its traditional surface, Callimachus' line encapsulates the crucial elements of a complicated dramatic scene. The tone is one of outrage, signalled by parenthetical *οὐ γάρ*.<sup>3</sup> The reader is plunged into a conversation at its dramatic peak, and has to extrapolate the situation.<sup>4</sup> What is going on?

In the account of the *Diegesis*, this is a hotspur's reaction to supposed arrogance. It has been said that "Simos attempts to conclude the argument by asserting that he himself is the equal of both (*Dieg.* VII 2-5)".<sup>5</sup> What argument could this assertion settle? This is not what the *Diegesis* says. Simos does not claim to be their equal, he only implies it (*παρενδεικνύμενος* 4) through his attempt at peacemaking.<sup>6</sup> The poet resents, not the interruption itself, but the assuming intimacy of a man of no consequence.

This is confirmed by the opening line. *Εἰς—οὐ γάρ;—ἡμέων*, 'so you are one of us, then?' The speaker mocks the assumption of equality implied by Simos' action. (*οὐ γάρ* is an ironical appeal for confirmation.) The same point is made when the opening line is echoed in the fable (102f). True, *παρυπέκρουεν* is misleading. It should mean 'interrupt'<sup>7</sup>—but no one is interrupted either here or in the fable; no one is cut short when the outsider breaks in on the quarrelling parties. Simos and the

<sup>3</sup> Pfeiffer; Denniston 86.

<sup>4</sup> Dawson 52,51; Bühler (1964) 246; D'Alessio 601,64. *Pace* Howald 48 (cf. 57).

<sup>5</sup> Clayman 23.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *παρεμφαίνω*; *παρυπέκρουε παρενδεικνύμενος* = 'he interrupted, thus implying', 'his interruption implied'. The participle expresses the crucial qualification of the action. Does the imperfect mean 'he kept interrupting both of them from the sidelines'? *ἄμφω*, too, suggests that Simos intervened more often than the bramble. Cf. Dawson 53; Howald-Staiger 333; Bühler (1964) 232; Fraser I 741: "Simos . . . offended them by making himself out to be their equal." (Did the poet's opponent take offence?) Körte-Händel 101: "Statt dessen hätte er erkennen sollen, daß in dem Streit der Meinungen eine Gemeinsamkeit enthalten war, die ihn ausschloß." Bystanders in *αἰνοί*: Fraenkel (1920) 369; cf. Aesop. 73; 233 (another *βάτος*); Epicr. fr. 10,27-9 K.-A. The dramatic constellation echoes Plato's *Laches*. For the *εἰς-ἡμῶν* motif, cf. 189 B, and C 3f. Socrates and the two experts: 181D; 184D; 186E-187B. Above, Ch. 3 n. 64.

<sup>7</sup> LSJ *Suppl.* and *Rev. Suppl.* offer "offend by (inter)meddling". Can it mean that in view of *ὑποκρούω* (LSJ II)? It seems easier to accept a slight imprecision in the *Diegesis*.

bramble bush are incautious, but not rude. The speaker, however, appears touchy and irritable.

The next few lines (with a fragmentary scholion) do not offer much (1-5):

Εἷς—οὐ γάρ;—ἡμέων, παῖ Χαριτάδεω, καὶ σύ  
 .[....]ώικ[.] .[....][  
 [  
 παρ[....]. [  
 ἡ μὲν ..[.]ηνέκ[ 5

Was this the place of the abuse mentioned in *Dieg.* VII 5f?<sup>8</sup> What does it mean? Pfeiffer shows that *Θράξ* and *παιδοκλέπτης* could make the same point (the latter is found only here, and both words may come from the poem). Corbato regards *παιδοκλέπτης* as paraphrase, and takes *Θράξ* to mean 'unrestrained drinker'. *παιδοκλέπτης* would perhaps be an odd word to use in a paraphrase. The point of the abuse remains obscure.<sup>9</sup>

After these introductory lines, the fable begins (6-12):

ἄκουε δὴ τὸν αἶνον· ἔν κοτε Τμώλῳ  
 δάφνην ἐλαίῃ νεῖκος οἱ πάλαι Λυδοί  
 λέγουσι θέσθαι καὶ γὰρ  
 καλὸν τε δένδρε[ον  
 κείσας[α] τοὺς ὄρπηκ[ας 10  
 ρ.[..]κυμη.ηφη[  
 ]...[.].ε..[.]ελουσι[

Of the first part of the *aînos*, the *Diegesis* gives the following summary (VII 6-10):

καὶ γὰρ<sup>10</sup> τὸν | αἶνον παρατίθεται ἀκόλουθον,<sup>11</sup> ὡς ἐν Τμώλῳ (δάφνη καὶ) ἐλαία διεφέροντο ὑπὲρ πρωτείων | (παρεπεφύκεσαν δ' ἀλλήλαις), διεξήλκαν δὲ τὰ προσόντα ἑαυταῖς χρήσιμα.

<sup>8</sup> Corbato (1958) 8-12; Clayman 23 with n. 33, and (1978-9) 143; D'Alessio 600,62. In 5, *τρ[αυτ]ην* would be too long, *τρ[αυτ]* too short.

<sup>9</sup> Pfeiffer; Dawson 41; 53f. *Θράξ* might just = 'slave': cf. *παιδοκλέπτης* = *ἀνδραποδοκλέπτης*?; τὸν ὦμον in 7 with *Iambus* IV 22f. But why τόν? καὶ γάρ? Pohlenz's ἀκόλουθον?

<sup>10</sup> Denniston 109f; καὶ γὰρ τοι (ibid. 113f) would be easier.

<sup>11</sup> On the text, see Pfeiffer: the papyrus has *ωμονπαρατιθεταικελευθον*. Pohlenz's ἀκόλουθον is unsatisfactory. It cannot, I think, point forward to 'the following' story which is then summarized. Sch.II. use the word in the sense 'analogous', 'in character', or with reference to 'a consequence (of a decision)'. Could it mean "this 'fitting', 'apt' tale"?

The opening lines of the tale survive in several quotations.<sup>12</sup> For later scholarship, it had become the classic example of a *Pflanzenfabel*.<sup>13</sup> The article in 6 implies that the story was introduced in the preceding lines—‘τὸν αἶνον (which I have mentioned)’. The narrative begins, like those in I and II, with ‘once upon a time’.<sup>14</sup> Hipponax, in I, did not quote his source; Callimachus, in II, did, and so he does here. ‘Once upon a time, on Mount Tmolus—or so the Lydians of old say—. . .’ (6–8). This is offered as a Lydian tale. Oriental origin has, indeed, been claimed for it.<sup>15</sup>

Laurel and olive are introduced (7). καὶ γάρ (Hunt’s supplement in 8) suggests a brief account of how the quarrel began.<sup>16</sup> The next lines seem to be about the laurel. She probably started the teasing. Much is made of the laurel’s beauty later on, and the olive addresses her ὦ πάντα καλή (46): 9 can, therefore, plausibly be referred to her.<sup>17</sup> The next line, too, suits the laurel well: the shaking branches are characteristic.<sup>18</sup> Here, she

<sup>12</sup> Pfeiffer on 6–8.

<sup>13</sup> For other examples, see Pfeiffer on 7; Dawson 52f; Castrucci (1996); D’Alessio 613,88.

<sup>14</sup> Pfeiffer on 6; cf. above, Ch. 2 n. 4. Position of κοτέ: Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 1; Bulloch on *Lav. Pall.* 57; Gow on *Theoc.* 18,1; Campbell on *Mosch.* 2,1. Cf. Bühler on *Mosch.* 2,1; B. 20,1 with Jebb; *Ar. Av.* 1731 with Dunbar.

<sup>15</sup> Diels (1910); Immisch (1892); La Penna (1964) 25f; West (1969) 118f; Fraser I 743f; II 1046,226, and 1046f,227; Karadagli (1981) 39–41; 54f; Burkert (1992) 120–4; Holzberg (1992), esp. the essays by N. Oettinger (3–22) and R. Kussl (23–30); Castrucci (1996); Hughes 205–7. Aesop is Phrygian, and Babrius (probably writing in Syria) attributes fables to the ancient Syrians (*Prol.* II 2). Local colour is reinforced in 105f. Why Tmolus (famous for vines and Dionysus)? To set the νεῖκος (7; *Dieg.* VII 8) on a mountain, like the beauty contest on Ida? The parallels are: *LXX Jd.* 9,8–15; 4 *Ki.* 14,8–10; 2 *Chr.* 25,17–19; cf. also Goethe, *Parabeln. Salomons Königs von Israel und Juda güldne Worte von der Ceder biss zum Issop*. Parallels rather than models: Thiele (1911) 378f. Cf. Lambert (1960) 150–212, esp. 151–67; Hollis (1994) 49 with 60,25; West (1997) 82 (with further literature). Connection with Hipponax (31 and *Hippon.* fr. 105,6 W.)? A comedy *Λυδοί* is attested for Magnes: *frr.* 3f K.–A.

<sup>16</sup> Differently Wilamowitz (Hunt): καὶ γάρ ἦν τανύπτορθον (8).

<sup>17</sup> For δένδρε[ον, see 97; *Cer.* 37; 41; 46 (with Hopkinson on 26); *Hec.* fr. 74,11 Hollis; Kirk on *Il.* III 152; cf. above, Ch. 1 n. 103. Barigazzi (1980) 243: καὶ γάρ ἦ μὲν, σεμνόν τε | καλόν τε δένδρε[ον, ὧδε τῇ τέρῃ φῆσε. Here, 8 suffers from ischiorrhogy, and breaks Porson’s Law.

<sup>18</sup> The earliest examples (*Ar. Pl.* 213; Aristonous fr. 1,9–12 P.) connect this with prophecy: because Apollo originally ‘spoke’ from the laurel (*h.Ap.* 394–6;

is perhaps puffing herself up for the fray. Next, one expects a speech of the laurel, and 11 looks like its first line (marked by a sign in the left margin).<sup>19</sup> In 10 (or earlier), a verb of speaking should have introduced the speech. *cu* (11) could be *cú*, addressing the olive. 12 remains obscure.<sup>20</sup>

At this point, the papyrus breaks off. The overlapping fragment that bridges the gap between *POxy.* 1011 fol. iv<sup>v</sup> and its recto<sup>21</sup> provides a basis for calculating how many lines have perished with the lower part of fol. iv<sup>r</sup> before the poem continues on fol. v<sup>v</sup>.<sup>22</sup> If verso and recto contained the same number of lines, only nine lines are missing (it may have been a little more or less: the number of lines varies from page to page).<sup>23</sup> Of these missing lines, eight seem to be preserved or attested in some form elsewhere (13–21):

† ἐγὼ φαύλη πάντων τῶν δένδρων εἰμί†

. . . . .

like Zeus from the oak at Dodona), i.e. through the shivering of its leaves? Babr. *Prol.* I 9 ἐλάλει δὲ πεύκη καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς δάφνης. Cf. West (1997) 34, 129. Cf. *Ap.* I οἶον ὁ τῶ πολλῶνος ἐσεΐατο δάφνινος ὄρηξ (with Williams); *On. Met.* I 566f *finierat Paeon: factis modo laurea ramis | adnuat utque caput visa est agitasse cacumen*; Nonn. *D.* XII 134–7 . . . ἀκερσικόμου δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ | Φοίβου δένδρον ἐοῦσα κόμην ἀπεσεΐατο δάφνη | πενθαλέοις ἀνέμοις λιπαρὴ δ' ἄτμητος ἐλαίῃ | φύλλα χαμαὶ κατέχευε, καὶ εἰ φυτὸν ἦεν Ἀθήνης. (Here and elsewhere, Nonnus' book on the vine looks back to *Iambus* IV: cf. Hollis [1994] 48f.)

<sup>19</sup> Pfeiffer, apparatus: "atramenti vestigia signo 'ancorae' (?) similia". Cf. Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011, 214–15. I see a paragraphos below 10, and above the paragraphos a series of flourishes. That suggests a coronis, but (a) the part below the paragraphos is lost, and (b) a coronis does not normally divide sections within poems (but cf. *GMAW* 12).

<sup>20</sup> I read ]διεον[.

<sup>21</sup> Above, beginning of Ch. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Fol. iv was immediately followed by v; nothing is lost between them: fol. iii<sup>r</sup> is numbered 188 (upper left corner), fol. v<sup>r</sup> bears the number 192. Thus, only one folio is missing between the two. That fol. iv is this missing leaf is evident from the beginning of *Iambus* IV on its recto, which is then continued on fol. v<sup>v</sup> (cf. Hunt, *POxy.* VII, p. 20). Even so the poem is quite long, and the gap at the end of iv seems just right to accommodate what is needed for a smooth transition.

<sup>23</sup> Pfeiffer. 9 lines would give the recto as many lines as the verso (37). However, variations between recto and verso are quite common. From the point where fol. iv breaks off to the end of the page, the verso contained 10 lines, not 9, as *POxy.* 2215 shows. Complete folios and numbers of lines: i<sup>r</sup> 41, i<sup>r</sup> 39, iv<sup>v</sup> 37 (10 in lac.), iv<sup>r</sup> 28 ante lac., v<sup>v</sup> 43, v<sup>r</sup> 42, vii<sup>r</sup> 39, vii<sup>v</sup> 41.

|                 |    |
|-----------------|----|
| ]..[            |    |
| τάλαινα[        | 15 |
| ἐμεῦ πα[        |    |
| τῇ δ' αὐτι[     |    |
| “ὥφρων ἐ[λαίη   |    |
| ἐγὼ δεμ.[       |    |
| ὁ Δῆλον ο[ικέων | 20 |
| καί μευ τ[      |    |

These lines fall into two sections: 13 survives as a quotation;<sup>24</sup> 14–21 are preserved on *POxy.* XIX 2215 fr. 2, 1–8 (only faint traces of 1). What are the reasons for attributing these texts to *Iambus IV*? Why are they inserted at this point?

(i) Attribution. The quotation of 13 is introduced with the words: *παρὰ δὲ Καλλιμάχῳ . . . ἡ ἐλαία φησίν.*<sup>25</sup> As far as we know, *Iambus IV* is the only poem with a talking olive. The reference could be to an unknown work, but its vagueness suggests a prominent feature of a well-known piece. The attribution is almost certain.

*POxy.* 2215 fr. 1 (containing part of *Iambus III*) and fr. 2 are presented in Lobel's edition as fragments of one manuscript. No external reasons are given (nor are the inventory numbers). I assume that Lobel based his arrangement on the evidence of the handwriting. However, there are good internal reasons for attributing fr. 2 to *Iambus IV*. Line 17 suggests a change of speaker, and therefore dialogue. In 18, the olive is addressed (as in 28 and 37). The ἐγὼ in 19 will then be the laurel. This suits the mention of Delos in 20. If the laurel is here boasting of her association with Apollo's island, that gives particular point to 83f. Again, the attribution is almost certain.<sup>26</sup>

(ii) If these fragments are part of *Iambus IV*, where do they belong? There are two possibilities: before fol. v<sup>v</sup>, or after fol.

<sup>24</sup> [Quotation, not paraphrase, is guaranteed by the positive for superlative; cf. K.–G. I 339 (for the gender see *ibid.* 63f). L.A.H.–S.] For metrical restorations, see Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011, 211–13. ἐγὼ δὲ πάντων εἰμὶ δένδρεων φαύλη Howald–Staiger 332; ἐγὼ δὲ πάντων εἰμὶ τῶν δένδρων φαύλη Hughes 189; 208, 465; 209 (an ἰσχυρορωγικός).

<sup>25</sup> Pfeiffer.

<sup>26</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XIX, p. 39 (see below, n. 28), and 41: “**Fr. 2** evidently belongs to the iambus which contains the debate between the olive and the laurel, that is, the next following that of which part is preserved in fr. 1.” In 17, Lobel considers αὐτί[κ’.

v<sup>r</sup>. After fol. v, several leaves are missing. The extent of the lacuna between its last line (fr. 194,106) and the concluding passage of *Iambus* IV as it is preserved in other witnesses (fr. 194,107–17) remains unknown.<sup>27</sup> The lacuna preceding fol. v will have contained hardly less than nine lines (giving a total of thirty-seven lines for fol. iv<sup>r</sup>, the same as for the verso, and the lowest total on record for this codex), perhaps a little more. The lines in question would fit more or less exactly.

Again, internal considerations help to decide the point; they tip the scales in favour of the lacuna between fols. iv and v.<sup>28</sup> At 106, the laurel has already turned away from the olive to attack the bramble. *POxy.* 2215 fr. 2, however, seems to be part of an exchange between the olive and the laurel. The lines following the change of speaker in 17 suit the laurel and lead into her great speech, the bulk of which is preserved on fol. v<sup>v</sup>. The preceding lines suit a modest reply of the olive to the laurel's first words after 10,<sup>29</sup> and since 13 seems to share the self-effacing tone, it will be part of this reply, and should therefore be inserted before *POxy.* 2215 fr. 2.

Thus, one can reconstruct a brief exchange that precedes the *ἀγών* proper.<sup>30</sup> The laurel is the aggressor (8–10), and has the first speech. At some point after 12, the olive replies<sup>31</sup>—in a tone of ostentatious modesty, infuriating the laurel and triggering her long speech (just as at 93ff). 13 is quoted as an example of *ἀστεῖςμός*, i.e. ostentatious and ironical self-depreciation (*ἀστεῖςμός* is paraphrased as *προσποίησις*<sup>32</sup>). Then, in 17, the laurel's speech is introduced.

<sup>27</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus on 107–17, and on 117.

<sup>28</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XIX, p. 39: "The second fragment plainly comes from the apologue of the olive and the laurel in iv but I see no coincidence with any of the other three MSS. and can only guess that the verses of which it preserves the beginnings were among those lost at the bottom of 1011 fol. 4 r." Cf. Pfeiffer's apparatus on 14–21.

<sup>29</sup> On 15, see Lobel; Pfeiffer; D'Alessio 603,67.

<sup>30</sup> Pfeiffer: "provocare videtur laurus olivam ad certamen paucis versibus, post 12 respondet oliva *ἀστεῖζομένη* breviter, iterum loquens introducitur laurus v. 17 et certamen longum incipit ab v. 18". D'Alessio 603,66.

<sup>31</sup> No trace of a transition. After 12, the lacuna must have contained at least one or two lines more than are attested at present.

<sup>32</sup> Pfeiffer. This argues against the conjecture *φauλίη* (Pfeiffer's apparatus, and I 505). I am not sure that I understand 16 as supplemented by Barigazzi (1980) 243: *ἐμεῦ πα[τήρ θεά τις, οὐ θεὸς δῆθεν*.



The laurel begins her speech, in 18, with the insulting address which she repeats in 28 and 37. The pronouns in the first few lines suggest that she is exclusively concerned with herself (ἐγώ 19, μεν 21). Her boast about Delian Apollo<sup>33</sup> will be capped by the olive in 83f.

One can perhaps go one step further. Throughout her speech, the laurel's concern is less to attack the olive, than to praise herself. At the end, though, she spells out the comparison (40–3). At the beginning, a similar contrast seems to have set the tone. In 22f, the laurel reviles the olive's appearance—was this preceded by a praise of her own beauty?<sup>34</sup> (Cf. 9, and the olive's address in 46.)

With 22, the lacuna is left behind, and fol. v begins. Much of it is now impossible to read, but the sheet survives in its entirety, and preserves the longest continuous stretch of text from the *Iambi*. First, there is the bulk of the laurel's speech (22–43):

ὤριστερὸς μὲν λευκὸς ὥς ὕδρου γαστήρ,  
 ὁ δ' ἡλιοπλήξ ὃς τὰ [π]ολλὰ γυμνοῦται.  
 τίς δ' οἶκος οὐπὲρ [ο]ὕκ ἐγὼ παρὰ φλιγ;  
 τίς δ' οὗ με μάντις ἢ τίς οὐ θύτης ἔλκει; 25  
 καὶ Πυθίη γὰρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἴδρυται,  
 δάφνην δ' αἰεῖδει καὶ δάφνην ὑπέστρωται.  
 ὦφρων ἐλαίη, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐ Βράγχος  
 τοὺς τῶν Ἰώνων, οἷς ὁ Φοῖβος ὤ[ργίσθη,  
 δάφνη τε κρούων κῆπος οὐ τομ[ὸν λαοῖ]ς 30  
 δις ἢ τρίς ἐ[ῖ]πὼν ἀρτεμέας ἐποίη[σε];  
 κ]ῆγὼ μὲν ἢ 'πὶ δαίτας ἢ 'ς χορὸν φ[οι]τέω  
 τὸν Πυθαῖστήν· γίνομαι δὲ κᾶεθλον·  
 οἱ Δωριῆς δὲ Τεμπόθεν με τέμνουσιν  
 ὀρέων ἀπ' ἄκρων καὶ φέρουσιν ἐς Δελφούς, 35  
 ἐπὴν τὰ τῶπόλλωνος ἴρ' ἀγινῆται.

<sup>33</sup> Pfeiffer's note, and apparatus.

<sup>34</sup> Barigazzi (1980) 244 offers the following reconstruction of 18ff:

ὦφρων ἐ[λαίη, δυστυχῆς cὺ μὲν κάρτ' εἶ,  
 ἐγὼ δὲ μο[ύνη γ' εὐτυχῆς· ἀπάντων γάρ  
 ὁ Δῆλον ο[ικέων τῶν θεῶν προτιμᾶ με·  
 καί μεν τ[ὸ φύλλον ἐστὶν εἰκότως στιλπνόν,  
 [τὸ cὸν δὲ δούλων ὡς βραχίονες· καὶ γὰρ]  
 ὤριστερὸς κτλ.

There is no evidence for his extra line after 21.

ὠφρων ἐλαίη, πῆμα δ' οὐχὶ γινώσκω  
 οὐδ' οἶδ' ὅκ[οίη]ν οὐλαφηφόρος κάμπτει,  
 ἀγνὴ γάρ εἰμι, κοῦ πατεῦσί μ' ἄνθρωποι,  
 ἱρὴ γάρ εἰμι· σοὶ δὲ χῶπότ' ἄν νεκρόν  
 μέλλωσι καίειν ἢ [τά]φ[ω] περιτέλλει[ν,  
 αὐτοί τ' ἀνεστέψ[αντο χ]ῦπὸ τὰ πλευρά  
 τοῦ μὴ πνέοντ[ος ...]παξ ὑπ[έ]στ[ρωσαν].”

In 22f, the laurel ridicules the olive's appearance. ὠριστερός cannot refer to the olive. She must be compared to someone, perhaps a slave, whose right shoulder is covered and remains white “like the belly of a water-snake”, while his left side, not covered by the ἐξωμίς, is burnt by the sun.<sup>35</sup> Like him, the olive's leaf has a light and a dark side.<sup>36</sup>

From outward appearance, the laurel proceeds to laud herself on her omnipresence in cult and ritual (24–7),<sup>37</sup> in par-

<sup>35</sup> Pfeiffer: “laurus olivam despiciens eius folia servo comparat veste induto quae dicitur ἐξωμίς . . . : humerus sinister albus, alter sole coloratus est”. Cf. G. Murray (Hunt) on *POxy.* VII 1011,218–19. ἐξωμίς: *RE* III (6), 1899, 2328–30; MacDowell on *Ar.* V. 444. Crasis mark on ὠριστερός: above, Ch. 3 n. 28. On ὕδρου, note the scholion εἶδος δράκοντος, and see Wilamowitz on *E. HF* 152. Cf. Herod. 3,89 (with Headlam and Cunningham). ἡλιοπλήξ is found only here. Hippon. fr. 19 W. διοπλήξ; 102,6 αὐχενοπλήξ; B. 11,45 παραπλήξ; 19,40 οἰ[κτροπλάξ]. See Pfeiffer's note, also on fr. 544. The latter does not come from the *Iambi* (as Pfeiffer suggests at I 509). Maas's scazon + hemiepes may well be the correct metrical interpretation, but this epodic metre does not occur in the *Iambi* (or the *Μέλη*).

<sup>36</sup> Hunt (on *POxy.* VII 1011,218–19) doubted the reference to the olive's foliage. Cf. Waites (1912) 38; Dawson 45; Ardizzoni (1960) 14; Clayman 24,36, and (1978–9) 144.

<sup>37</sup> Pfeiffer: “dictio tragica”. Cf. *Ov. Met.* I 557–65, esp. 560–3 (suitably Romanized); F. Williams, *PLLS* 3, 1981, 249–57, at 254f; B. Curran and F. Williams, *LCM* 6, 1981, 209–12 (I owe these references to Mr A. S. Hollis). What does the laurel do παρά φλιῆ and in sacrifices? Is she associated with the Ἀγνιεύς? On Roman doorsteps: Bömer on *Ov. Met.* I 562, and on *Ov. Fast.* III 137. Greek evidence is scarce: Hsch. κ 4841 La. κώμυθα· δάφνην, ἣν ἱστῶσι (πρὸ) τῶν πυλῶν; cf. Cratin. fr. 302 K.–A. Apotropaic: *Gp.* XI 2,5 ἐνθα ἂν ἡ δάφνη, ἐκ ποδῶν δαίμονες; XI 2,7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ νόκος ἢ δαίμων παρενοχλεῖ τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ δάφνη ἔστιν; cf. Corn. *ND* 32 pp. 68,11–69,1 Lang; Ussher and Steinmetz on *Thphr. Char.* 16,2. For a bay-tree next to a temple of Apollo, see *Ap.* 1 with Williams, and cf. Weinreich (1929) 229–36, esp. 232,60; *RE* XIII 2, 1927, 1439–42; Hehn–Schrader (1894) 218–20; Weniger (1919). Juliane Kerkhecker compares Petrarch's ‘Coronation Speech’ (ed. A. Hortis, *Scritti inediti di Francesco Petrarca*, Trieste 1874, 323f).

ticular on her connection with the Pythia (26f).<sup>38</sup> The Pythia “has her seat on laurel, laurel she sings, and she has laurel for a couch” (Trypanis). ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἵδρυται, ‘sits on laurel’, is without difficulty; δάφνην ὑπέστρωται, ‘has her bed on laurel’, is a retained accusative;<sup>39</sup> but what does δάφνην δ’ αἶδει mean? The words should refer to the prophet’s δαφνηφαγία,<sup>40</sup> but as they stand, they mean ‘she sings of, celebrates laurel’. Diels and Gallavotti preferred δάφνη; Wilamowitz tried αἶρει<sup>41</sup>—neither looks attractive. Perhaps the parallelism justifies the slightly forced expression. Could one translate ‘laurel is her song’, i.e. it inspires her song?

After the list of cultic functions, a famous mythical example of purification by laurel: Branchus (28–31).<sup>42</sup> Callimachus told the story elsewhere (fr. 229), and it appears to have occurred in Hipponax, too.<sup>43</sup> The ἔπος οὐ τομ[όν (30)]<sup>44</sup> is the famous alphabetical formula κναξζβι χθυπτης φλεγμο δρωψ.<sup>45</sup>

From Branchus healing the crowd, the laurel moves on to festive groups of worshippers, dancing and banqueting for the

<sup>38</sup> Fontenrose (1978) 224f (no discussion of the text); Blech (1982) 226–31. For the anaphora, D’Alessio 605,70 compares the oracle reported at Hdt. I 47,3 (52 Parke–Wormell).

<sup>39</sup> K.–G. I 125 (7); cf. 327, Anm. 7 s.f. Howald–Staiger 335: “Lorbeer ist die Schlafstätte”; Gallavotti 80: “sotto l’alloro si giace” [*sic*].

<sup>40</sup> Pfeiffer (considering δάφνη); Stengel (1920) 71,10. Cf. Tib. II 5,63f.

<sup>41</sup> Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011,223. Cf. Housman, *CQ* 4, 1910, 119 (= *Classical Papers* II 807): “The Pythoness does not ‘sing of laurel’ as the editors make her, but laurel issues from her lips in song, inasmuch as she chews bay-leaves before prophesying and draws her inspiration thence. Lycophr. 6 δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαϊμῶν ὅπα, schol. εἰώθασιν οἱ μάντιες δάφνας προσθίειν. Mr. Wilamowitz’s αἶρει is therefore needless.” I take it that Housman accepts δάφνην.

<sup>42</sup> See Pfeiffer; Dawson 45. Note the scholion ἐρώμ[εν]ος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνο[c. Babr. *Prol.* I 2 ὦ Βράγχε τέκνον. For the use of laurel in purification, see Stengel (1920) 162,18; Blech (1982) 231–4; Parker (1983) 228f.

<sup>43</sup> Hippon. fr. 105,6 W. × –]ι Βάραγχος ἀρτεμ[ (same word as in IV 31?); cf. Jung (1929) 26; Pfeiffer.

<sup>44</sup> Georg.Pis. *Exped.Pers.* III 275 ὃς πρὸς τὸ θνήσκειν εὐρέθη τομώτερος, ‘promptior’. Terzaghi (1951) 173f proposes τομ[ὸν φήσα]c, comparing A. *Ag.* 1162 (632; 1504); *Supp.* 274 (*Pr.* 604; 609); Call. fr. 398. However, ρ[ is impossible (the vertical is too short), and φήσα]c undesirable (cf. ε[ῖ]πών 31). See Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011,224–7; Pfeiffer’s apparatus; Mineur on *Del.* 94. I cannot explain the sign at the end of the line (by a later hand).

<sup>45</sup> Thespis *TrGF* I 1 F 4 S. (with note, and p. 345); Merkelbach (1985); Cribiore (1996) 39f.

god, and to her role in various festivals (32–6).<sup>46</sup> First, the Attic *Πυθαῖς* (32f): does τὸν Πυθαῖτῆν (33) go only with ἡ ἔχ' χορόν (31), or also with ἡ ἐπὶ δαίτας (31)? The ἡ–ἡ correlation and the enjambement suggest *Versparung*: the attribute stands ἀπὸ κοινού.<sup>47</sup> And, indeed, the *Πυθαῖς* included not only χοροί, but also sacrifices and a banquet.<sup>48</sup> In 105 BC, the *Πυθαῖται* even took along their own cook.<sup>49</sup>

During the θεωρία, they will have worn crowns of laurel, and this leads on to the next point, the crown of laurel as prize in the Pythian ἀγών (33). This, however, is not elaborated, and in the following lines, the laurel mentions another θεωρία: the δαφνηφορία of the Dorians (34–6).<sup>50</sup>

In 36, the papyrus has ἰρὰ γίνηται. This line-ending violates Knox's Second Law, but so do other lines in the *Iambi*.<sup>51</sup> Vagueness, however, should not be tolerated. The words could refer to the Σεπτήριον festival (as they must), but they could also easily be misunderstood, for instance as a reference to the Πύθια.<sup>52</sup> The problem is solved by Maas's ἰρ' ἀγινῆται. There is a parallel from Herodas,<sup>53</sup> and the olive, as is her wont, ironically echoes the laurel's words (55f):

γηθέω δὲ πλεῖον ἢ κύ τοῖς ἀγινεῦσιν  
ἐκ τῶν σε Τεμπέων.

These lines prove Maas right, and provide a clue for the interpretation of 36.<sup>54</sup> Pfeiffer supposed that the phrase could mean what Theopompus in his account of the story expressed by μεγαλοπρεπῶς θύσαντες. Again, rather vague—and 55f show the way out. What the laurel says is 'each time when the sacred (twigs) are brought (from Tempe)'.

With the grand δαφνηφορία, the olive compares her role in

<sup>46</sup> For details, see Pfeiffer's notes.

<sup>47</sup> Kiefner (1964). In 32, the papyrus has ] ἡ.

<sup>48</sup> Pfeiffer; Blech (1982) 227; Deubner (1932) 203; Parke–Wormell (1956) I 262f; *SIG* II 696–9; 711; 728; and esp. pp. 298–300 (Pythaidēs saec. V et IV).

<sup>49</sup> *SIG* II 711 (Pyth. III), p. 353.

<sup>50</sup> Pfeiffer's note, and I 505; Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011, 230–2; Dawson 45; Nilsson (1906) 150–7, esp. 153f; 157; cf. Bing 109, 35; 130, 68; and fr. 86–9.

<sup>51</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus, and his note on fr. 191, 92f; West (1974) 113.

<sup>52</sup> Pfeiffer.

<sup>53</sup> Herod. 4, 87 ἰρ' ἀγινεῦσαι; cf. 3, 55; Headlam's and Cunningham's notes.

<sup>54</sup> Dawson and Trypanis both accept Maas's text, but translate ἰρὰ γίνηται.

funerary processions, and gets the better of her opponent. The laurel, not unduly worried about incoherent association and rambling repetition, revels in the idea of her great moment: *Τεμπόθεν* is the magic word (attested only here), from there she is cut and carried to Delphi each time the sacred objects are brought there. When she refers to herself as *τὰ ἰρά*, that has all the vainglorious pomposity of specious detachment, and the high-flown tone is kept up by the choice verb *ἀγινέω* (again, mockingly echoed by the olive).<sup>55</sup>

The laurel's speech ends as it may have begun, with contrasting panels. There, the laurel will have sung the praise of her own beauty; here, she sets her own sacred purity (37–9) against the olive's association with death (40–3). The change of topic comes abruptly with *ῥφρων ἐλαίῃ* (37), and the following *δέ* is without point of reference. Again, the corruption was healed by Maas.<sup>56</sup> Transpose *ῥφρων ἐλαίῃ* (37) and *ἰρή γάρ εἰμι* (40), and write thus (34–43):

οἱ Δωριῆς δὲ Τεμπόθεν με τέμνουσιν  
 ὀρέων ἀπ' ἄκρων καὶ φέρουσιν ἐς Δελφούς, 35  
 ἐπὴν τὰ τῶπόλλωνος ἶρ' ἀγινῆται.  
 ἰρή γάρ εἰμι, πῆμα δ' οὐχὶ γινώσκω 40a/37b  
 οὐδ' οἶδ' ὅκ[οίη]ν οὐλαφηφόρος κάμπτει,  
 ἀγνὴ γάρ εἰμι, κοῦ πατεῦσί μ' ἄνθρωποι.  
 ῥφρων ἐλαίῃ, κοὶ δὲ χῶπότ' ἄν νεκρόν 37a/40b  
 μέλλωσι καίειν ἢ [τά]φ[ω] περιστέλλει[ν],  
 αὐτοὶ τ' ἀνεστέψ[αντο χ]ῦπὸ τὰ πλευρά  
 τοῦ μὴ πνέοντ[ος ...]παξ ὑπ[έ]στ[ρωσαν].”

In the transmitted text, *ἰρή γάρ εἰμι* is awkward next to *ἀγνὴ γάρ εἰμι* (39). Now, it takes up *ἶρ' ἀγινῆται* (36), and the following *δέ* turns out to be explanatory. The address *ῥφρων ἐλαίῃ*, pointless before *πῆμα δ' οὐχὶ γινώσκω* (37), falls into place before *κοὶ δὲ* (40). (The genesis of the corruption is not easily explained. Perhaps *ἰρή γάρ εἰμι* was noted down in the margin as a parallel for *ἀγνὴ γάρ εἰμι* [39], the parallel was mistaken for a correction, and the two half-lines exchanged?)<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Epic, Ionic prose, but not in Iambic, elegiac, melic, dramatic poetry; not in Theocritus, but—apart from Herod. 4.87—in Apollonius and Aratus; Call. fr. 90; *Ap.* 82. For *Τεμπόθεν*: West (1974) 92; Tyrt. fr. 4,1 W. *Πυθωνόθεν*.

<sup>56</sup> Pfeiffer approved (I 505); D'Alessio 607,74; Hughes 190; 209,466.

<sup>57</sup> For similar corruptions, frequently without obvious explanation, cf.

Maas's transposition has not been universally accepted. Muth put forward two arguments against it:<sup>58</sup> (i) The parallelism of the line-beginnings in 39f is intended. (ii) The address ὦφρων ἐλαίη is used to structure the speech; after the transposition, it would break up the laurel's last point.

These arguments ignore the linguistic merits of Maas's proposal, and fail to address the difficulties of the repeated δέ in 37 and 40 of the transmitted text. (i) does not explain why the parallelism should be desirable—just in and of itself? (ii) is rather mechanical. The address keeps recurring, but it does not set off passages unified in theme and argument. Indeed, there are no such units in this speech. It evolves by association, from line to line. In 37, ὦφρων ἐλαίη interrupts the flow so completely that the next point comes as a puzzling surprise; here, ἰρὴ γάρ εἰμι re-establishes the associative connection. In 40, the address does not break up the laurel's last point: it links up with τοὶ δέ, and introduces, after the self-advertisement of the laurel, the vilification of her opponent. It signals the final attack.

If Maas's correction is accepted (as I think it must be), 36f provide another example of the laurel's associative style: ἰρός suggests purity, and the absence of death. She knows no sorrow, nor the bier carriers' path; men do not tread on her.<sup>59</sup> The olive is not only worn by mourners, but also put around the bodies of the dead.<sup>60</sup>

In 43, various supplements have been tried. ἐπιτάξ is now attested in fr. 178,9, and Helladius' note about Callimachus' use of the word need not refer to fr. 194,43.<sup>61</sup> On the papyrus, Housman on Man. II 935–45; IV 257f; V 480–2; Zwielerlein, *WJA* 4, 1978, 157,69; 5, 1979, 169f,19, and 178; 6, 1980, 181–8.

<sup>58</sup> Muth (1951).

<sup>59</sup> Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011,233 describes the sign to the left of 37f as a coronis. A corrector altered *ουλαφηφορος* to *ωλαφηφορος*, for no apparent reason (Hunt on 234). I cannot see the mark at the end of 38 (Pfeiffer's apparatus). On 39, see Pfeiffer's note, and I 505. In 40, the papyrus has *εἰμι* (middle stop by first hand).

<sup>60</sup> For the use of olive branches in burial, see Pfeiffer on 38ff, and 41f; Verg. *A.* VI 230 (with Norden and Austin); Artem. IV 57; Blech (1982) 93; Parker (1983) 229,124. Tracing shows that *κ[αὶ τὰ]φ[ω]* would be too long in 41 (Pfeiffer I 505). 42 ]ῥ (perhaps also in 50, where the relevant bit of papyrus is missing). Crasis marks: above, Ch. 3 n. 28.

<sup>61</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus, and his note on fr. 178,9. *κηπ]ιτάξ* Wilamowitz; *ῆ'π]ιτάξ* Ellis.

]π looks better than ]ιτ or ]τι, and Hunt's εἰςά]παξ or Pfeiffer's —ὦ πό]παξ—("interiectio indignantis") would stop the gap.

As a whole, the laurel's speech is an unsystematic catalogue of topics. Their sequence is determined by association rather than argument—not τάδε διὰ τάδε, but μετὰ τάδε.<sup>62</sup> "Wie die einzelnen Dinge nacheinander aus dem stolzen Sprecher heraussprudeln, ist besonders geglückt."<sup>63</sup> And perhaps, the laurel is already here not just arrogant, but also irritated.

Two lines conclude the laurel's speech and introduce the olive's long reply (44f; 46–92, here up to 59):

ἡ μὲν τάδ', οὐκέτ' ἄλλα· τὴν δ' ἀπὴλ[λαξε  
 μάλ' ἀτρεμαίως ἢ τεκοῦσα τὸ χρίμ[α· 45  
 "ὦ πάντα καλή, τῶν ἐμῶν τὸ κ[άλλιστον  
 ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ κύκνος [ὡς Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἦειπας· οὐτῶ μὴ κάμοιμ[ι ποιεῦσα.  
 ἐγὼ μὲν ἄνδρας, οὓς Ἄρη[ς ἀπόλλυσι,  
 συνέκ τε πέμπω χυ[πὸ 50  
 ...]ων ἀριστεύων, οἳ κα ..... [...] . .  
 ἐγὼ] δὲ λευκὴν ἡνίκ' ἐς τάφον Τηθύν  
 φέρο[υσι] παῖδες ἢ γέροντα Τιθωνόν,  
 αὐτῇ [θ' ὁ]μαρτέω κῆπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν κείμει·  
 γηθέω δὲ πλεῖον ἢ σὺ τοῖς ἀγινεῦσιν 55  
 ἐκ τῶν σε Τεμπέων. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐμνήσθης  
 καὶ τοῦτο· κῶς ἄεθλον οὐκ ἐγὼ κρέσσων  
 σεῦ; καὶ γὰρ ὠγὼν οὖν Ὀλυμπίῃ μέζων  
 ἢ 'ν τοῖσι Δελφοῖς· ἀλλ' ἄριστον ἢ σωπή.

44f discreetly reinforce the narrative frame—and shape our view of the two opponents. "So much the one said, and no more" (44). οὐκέτ' ἄλλα implies that the laurel could have said more. She might, for instance, have mentioned her association with poets, or her mythical origin.<sup>64</sup> She has given no more care to *inventio* than to *dispositio*.

The laurel's speech ends, not because her argument has come to its conclusion, but because, for the moment, she runs out of

<sup>62</sup> Howald 46. Pace Thiele (1911) 377–81, esp. 377; Clayman (1978–9) 144, and 146.

<sup>63</sup> Körte–Händel 102.

<sup>64</sup> The story of Daphne goes back to the 3rd cent. BC: Forbes Irving (1990) 261–3; West (1997) 441, esp. n. 9. Is it presupposed at 46 πάντα καλή? In later versions, she is the daughter of Γῆ (cf. 64): Bömer on Ov. *Met.* I–III, p. 170.

topics. She controls, neither what she says, nor how she says it. The olive is in perfect command of the situation and herself. To all the insults, she replies "very quietly" (45). *μάλ' ἀτρεμαίως* sets the olive's composure against the laurel's excitable temper.<sup>65</sup> Calm efficiency is also suggested by Lobel's *ἀπήλ[λαξε]*, or Hunt's *ἀπήμ[υνε]*.<sup>66</sup> The olive 'does away with', 'fends off', 'dismisses' the laurel.<sup>67</sup> She is 'the mother of oil' (45);<sup>68</sup> usefulness will be her main argument.

Her speech begins with an obsequious address echoing the laurel's self-praise.<sup>69</sup> If *κ[άλλιστον]* is correct in 46, it involves an elegant play on the meaning of the word: opposing the olive's most 'beautiful' achievement and the rewards of altruism to the laurel's 'beauty' and her self-centred universe.<sup>70</sup> This will be the keynote of the olive's reply. Altruism defeats self-regard.

The olive takes her opponent's points in reverse order.<sup>71</sup> This turns the laurel's peroration to the olive's advantage. How kind of her to end on what is best—just like the swan when he dies!<sup>72</sup> The laurel's crowning insult becomes a source of quiet pride; a noble service, not to be disowned.<sup>73</sup>

After this surprise start (46–8), the olive explains her commitment to the dead. In three lines on death in war (49–51), and three more lines on death in old age (52–4), she replies to the final section of the laurel's speech (37–43). Her examples

<sup>65</sup> Cf. 10 *σειάσα*; Pfeiffer; Gow on Theoc. 7,19. Führer (1967) 39f (*τός εἶπεν*). The papyrus has *ατρεμεως* (which is found at Q.S. XIII 36; 40 *ἀτρέμας*).

<sup>66</sup> *αλλα* by a later hand; Pfeiffer I 505. Barigazzi (1980) 244 proposes *ἄλλα γ' ἢ δ'*, without necessity. *μ[* seems just possible (*pace* Pfeiffer's apparatus). Ardizzoni (1960) 18 tries *ἀπημ[είφθη]* (comparing X. *An.* II 5,15 *Τισσαφέρνῃς δ' ὦδε ἀπημείφθη*). Theoc. 7,27 *τὸν δ' ἐγὼ ἀμείφθην*. The imperfect *ἀμείβετο* is frequent in Homer; Q.S. IV 102; V 291; VII 56; Hopkinson on *Cer.* 80; Mineur on *Del.* 121.

<sup>67</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; LSJ *ἀπαλλάσσω* A.I.3.

<sup>68</sup> Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011,241 compares *Lav.Pall.* 26 *χρίματα, τὰς ἰδίας ἔκγονα φυταλιᾶς*. Cf. Bulloch's note; Kassel (1986) 120.

<sup>69</sup> In the left margin, above and below 46, there are two oblique strokes, perhaps marking the beginning of the speech (cf. Pfeiffer's apparatus).

<sup>70</sup> *κε[* looks plausible, but A. D. Knox's *κ[έρδιτον]* (Gallavotti 43) seems hardly the right word.

<sup>71</sup> Thiele (1911) 377; Dawson 53; Trypanis 119.

<sup>72</sup> 47 [*οἶά τις θνήσκων* Crusius; [*ὥς ὁ Πακτωλοῦ* Diels; [*ὥς ὅταν θνήσκη* Gallavotti; [*ὥς ἀποπνείων* Platt. Cf. Williams on *Ap.* 5; Wilamowitz on *E. HF* 110; Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. Carm.* II, pp. 332–4; Arnott (1977).

<sup>73</sup> 48 [*ὀφείλουσα* Gallavotti; [*ἀκούουσα* Lobel.



are examples of 'good deaths'. Those who meet death in battle are *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι* (cf. *ἀριστεύων* 51);<sup>74</sup> and if, at the end of a long life (the homely and affectionate terms *Τηθύς* and *Τιθωνός* imply very old age), children carry their forbears to rest (52f), that is in the order of things. It is right, and better than parents burying their children.<sup>75</sup> The olive joins them of her own accord (*αὐτῇ* 54).<sup>76</sup>

To conclude this point, the olive compares the happiness her service gives her to that of the laurel (55f).<sup>77</sup> These lines look

<sup>74</sup> Tyrt. fr. 10,1f; 12,10-14, and 20 (cf. 31-4, and 43f) W.; Simon. fr. 26,6 P.; Hdt. V 109,3 (who uses *χρηστός* in the same sense: VI 13,2; IX 27,1.4.6); Th. I 86,1; II 35,1; III 54,3; 64,2; IV 92,7; V 9,9; VII 77,7; Aeschin. 3, 154; Hyp. *Epit.* 28,20-29,1; Georg.Pis. *Exped.Pers.* III 81. Loraux (1986) 99-101. Line 49 *Ἀρη[ς ἀποφθείρει* Gallavotti. 50f *χὺ[πὸ τῷ κάρῳ κείμει | τῷ] τῶν ἀριστεύων οἱ κα[λόν] ν[έμους] οἶτον* Murray, Gallavotti; *χὺ[πὸ γῇ μέλῃ κρύπτω | τὰ] τῶν ἀριστεύων οἱ κα[λῶς τεθνήκασι* von Arnim; *οἱ κα[λῶν] [τετεύχασιν* Diels; "οἱ κα[μόντες] εὐδουσι i.e. die a natural death" A. D. Knox (1923) 34 (unlikely after *ἀριστεύων*, if his rendering is correct; cf. Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 293); Barigazzi (1980) 244 offers *συνέκ τε πέμπω χὺ[πὸ σώμασιν κείμει | αὐ]τῶν ἀριστεύων οἱ κα[τ'] ἡμῶν τιμῶνται/κλείονται/κλήζονται/ὑμνοῦνται* (comparing S. *Ph.* 798; only *ὑμνοῦνται*, or *ᾄδονται*, would avoid ischiorrhogy). Cf. 42f. *ἀριστεύων* is a hyper-Ionicism: above, Ch. 1 n. 103.

<sup>75</sup> Pfeiffer; Hdt. I 87,4 (Croesus to Cyrus): *οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστιν ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας* (cf. 30,4, and 31,4f). Pi. *O.* 5,22f; E. *Alc.* 321f; *Supp.* 168-75; *HF* 322-5 (with Bond on 323); A.R. I 278-83; III 747f; Catul. 39,5; Prop. II 13,49f; Verg. *G.* IV 476f = *A.* VI 307f; Claudian, *In Rufinum* I 248. Plb. XII 26,7. Boyancé (1952); J. Griffin, *CQ* 26, 1976, 165; 168,29; (1980) 123-7; 141f; 214 (General Index s.v. 'Parents, bereaved'); Macleod on Il. XXIV 495-7; Headlam-Thomson on A. *Ag.* 327f; Néraudau (1984) 373-92, esp. 379-85. Shakespeare, *Rape of Lucrece* 1751-71. Sepulchral epigram: Call. *Epigr.* 12; 14; 19 (with E. A. Schmidt [1976] 149); 20 (with Theoc. *Ep.* 16, and E. A. Schmidt [1976] 150f); *AP* VII 187; 241; 261; 303; 353; 361; 466; 467; 475; 486; 547; 701; 711; XIII 23. Lieber (1903. 1904); Lattimore (1942) 187-91. Consolations by Cicero, Seneca (*ad Helviam matrem*, *ad Marciam*, *ad Polybium*), Plutarch (*ad Apollonium*; and *ad uxorem*). Kassel (1958b); Scourfield on Jerome, *Letter* 60, pp. 15-33. "The opposite situation is a source of satisfaction: *ὦι φυσικαὶ τοκέων [στ]οργαὶ πρὸς τέκνα ποθεινὰ | ὥς ὅτιαν υἱῶν τ[ὰ]ν χάριν ἀντέλαβον*" (Lattimore [1942] 188; *IG* XII.5, 305,13f = *GVI* 1156,13f; Paros, 1st cent. BC). B. 1,151-4; Pl. *Hp.Ma.* 291 DE; *AP* VII 228; 260; 555; 667; Prop. IV 11,97f. Death in old age: *AP* VII 726; 733.

<sup>76</sup> Pfeiffer. The papyrus has *κείμει* (by a later hand). I do not see the sign at the end of 55 (Pfeiffer's apparatus).

<sup>77</sup> 56 *ἐκ τῶν σε Τεμπέων*: cf. *Ap.* 74 *ἐκ μὲν σε Σπάρτης*, and 75 *ἐκ δέ σε Θήρης* (Coppola [1935] 89,1).

back to 46–8: a case of *Ringkomposition*. Its effect, though, is more than ornamental. When the olive repeats her opening assertion, we understand her attitude, because we have heard her arguments; and we admire it, because, through her association with ‘good deaths’, she is concerned with others. The laurel only knows herself. Not that she hasn’t a point: death does carry pollution.<sup>78</sup> Not that the olive is as forgetful of her own interest as she might like us to think. She does not suffer in silence, but she presents her case less obtrusively and with greater success.

In particular, she knows how to organize an argument. In the laurel’s speech (34–6), the *δαφνηφορία* from Tempe was isolated and without context. Here, it finds its place in a contrastive comparison, and makes a better point than before. The olive does not just reverse the sequence of the laurel’s points; she also creates logical order out of rambling chaos. She does not just argue against her; she uses every single one of the laurel’s examples to her own advantage. She does not just refute point after point; she ridicules the laurel’s way of making her points, and mockingly echoes her language. She exposes the laurel by recasting her speech, telling her what she must have, or at any rate should have meant. She makes her look stupid—something more hurtful and cutting than anything the laurel said.

Moving one further back in the laurel’s topics, the olive turns to her role in games (57–9, answering 33).<sup>79</sup> Here, she makes it clear that the incoherence of the laurel’s argument is even beyond her to remedy (56f)—and it was a particularly unfortunate claim to make: remember Olympia?<sup>80</sup> The style becomes more animated: direct questions, short clauses, pointed enjambements, compressed syntax.<sup>81</sup> The speech draws to a

<sup>78</sup> Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 1437–9; Parker (1983) 32–73, esp. 32–48.

<sup>79</sup> 56 *επει* : *εμοι*? *επειπερ*? I cannot see what the papyrus had: 52–9 have almost completely vanished. If Pfeiffer’s text is sound, is it to be understood as a fusion of progressive *ἀλλὰ γάρ* (Denniston 106 ii) and parenthetical *επει*: *ἀλλὰ γάρ*—*επει* *ἐμνήσθης καὶ τοῦτο*—*κὼς ἄεθλον κτλ.*?

<sup>80</sup> Ranking order of contests: Thummer on Pi. I., vol. I pp. 27f; Kramer (1970) 3–23; Bernardini (1983) 188,74; (1985) 138f; Fuhrer (1992) 185,703; 192f; (1993) 87,58. Cf. Pi. O. 1,7; Pl. *Ly.* 205C4f.

<sup>81</sup> Pfeiffer’s notes; *κὼς* Wilamowitz (Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011,253). On the syntax of 58f, see Pfeiffer’s apparatus; Housman, *CQ* 4, 1910, 120 (= *Classical Papers* II 807). The papyrus has *σωπη* (by a later hand).

first climax. The olive is clearly enjoying herself. She ends on a note of reproachful resignation, with a gesture of gnomic aloofness: *il resto no'l dico, già ognuno lo sa* (59).<sup>82</sup>

With these lines, the first part of the olive's speech comes to its end. It is about half the length of the laurel's speech, and gives an impression of conciseness, clarity, and precision. But the olive is about to continue for twice as long, and what is coming up will in itself have been longer than the whole of the laurel's speech—the *Vogelgespräch* (60–3; 64–92):<sup>83</sup>

ἐγὼ μὲν οὔτε χρηστὸν οὔτε σε γρύζω 60  
ἀπηνέες οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ μοι δὴ ὄρνιθες  
ἐν τοῖσι φύλλοις ταῦτα τινθυρίζουσai  
πάλαι κάθηνται· κωτίλον δὲ τὸ ζεύγος.  
—τίς δ' εὔρε δάφνην;—γῆ τε καὶ κα[... ]ς[  
ὥς πρίνον, ὥς δρῦν, ὥς κύπειρον, ὥς πεύκην. 65  
—τίς δ' εὔρε ἔλαιήν;—Παλλάς, ἡμος [ῆρ]ιζ[ε  
τῷ φυκιοίκῳ κῆδίκαζεν ἀρχαίοις  
ἀνὴρ ὄφιν τὰ νέρθεν ἀμφὶ τῆς Ἀκτῆς.  
—ἐν ἡ δάφνη πέπτωκε. τῶν δ' ἀειζώων  
τίς τὴν ἔλαιήν, τίς δὲ [τ]ὴν δάφνην τιμᾷ; 70  
—δάφνην Ἀπόλλων, ἡ δὲ Παλλάς ἦν εὔρε.  
—ξυνὸν τόδ' αὐταῖς, θεοὺς γὰρ οὐ διακρίνω.  
τί τῆς δάφνης ὁ καρπός; ἐς τί χρήσωμαι;  
—μήτ' ἔσθι μήτε πῖνε μήτ' ἐπιχρίσῃ.  
ὁ τῆς δ' ἔλαιῆς ἐν μὲν †αλιτιτω† μάσταξ 75  
ὁ στ[έμφυλο]ν καλεῖσιν, ἐν δὲ τὸ χρίμα,  
ἐν [δ' ἡ κολ]υμβὰς ἦν ἔπωνε χῶ Θησεύς.  
—τ[ὸ δ]ε[ύ]τερον τίθημι τῇ δάφνῃ πτώμα.  
τεῦ γὰρ [τὸ] φύλλον οἱ ἰκέται προτείνουσι;

<sup>82</sup> Not, strictly speaking, a proverb (Reinsch-Werner [1976] 370f), but a commonplace: fr. 75,4 (playing on mystic silence); 754; Hes. *Op.* 719f with West; A. *Pr.* 883f with Griffith; cf. Heraclit. 22 B 40 D.–K.

<sup>83</sup> The olive says that there are two birds (61), and it seems natural to conclude that the one is asking the questions and passing judgement, the other giving the answers (*pace* Howald 47). Pfeiffer, I suppose, took that for granted and did not mark the distribution in the text. I follow Gallavotti's edition; cf. Dawson 46, and 48; D'Alessio's translation (609, and 611). Fraser I 742f (transl.), and II 1045,220 (text), makes sometimes the one, sometimes the other ask the questions. C. Cessi, 'Intorno ai *Giambi* di Callimaco', *AAPat* 39, 1922–3, 31–45, at 39–45, makes the olive ask the birds (*non vidi*, but see Herter [1937] 165)—why, then, are there two birds? And who would notice that the two interlocutors are not the two birds, but (a) the olive and (b) the birds? Reported dialogue in early Iambus: West (1974) 32.

—τὸ τῆς ἐλαίης.—τὰ τρί' ἡ δάφνη κείται. 80  
 (φεῦ τῶν ἀπρύτων, οἷα κωτιλίζουσι  
 λαιδρὴ κορώνη, κῶς τὸ χεῖλος οὐκ ἀλγείς;)  
 —τεῦ γ' ἄρ τὸ πρέμνον Δήλιοι φυλάσσουσι;  
 —τὸ τῆς ἐλαίης ἢ ἀν[έπαυς]ε τὴν Λητώ.  
 .....]οι πολίται κ[ ]τι τῷ δήμῳ 85  
 ] .τανουν ἔστεφέν μιν ἡ δάφνη  
 ]α θαλλῶ καλλίνικος ἡλαίη  
 ]υφανητε κῆπὸν τὴν ὄγχνην  
 ] .τερην τιν' αἰνεῖται  
 ] .ικουτεκοι μάντεις 90  
 ]ν οὔτ' ἐπὶ φλιῆς  
 —].[ φ]ημι τὴν δάφνην.”

The conversation of the two birds, as related and (no doubt) made up by the olive, begins, after a brief introduction (60–3), at 64. For how long do the birds go on? Pfeiffer suggested that their exchange might end at 87.<sup>84</sup> If the olive ends her speech *voce propria*, the birds have to stop before its end (92), and 87 is the last line that must be spoken by them (ἡλαίη). But why should the olive not end her speech with the birds' talk, without any comment of her own? She is, after all, using them to eschew responsibility. As I see no reason why the birds should stop at 87, I shall follow Gallavotti, Howald–Staiger, and D'Alessio, and try to show below that the *Vogelgespräch* extends to the end of the olive's speech at 92.<sup>85</sup>

The olive asserts her goodwill—and introduces the birds (60–3).<sup>86</sup> After her praise of *σωπή*, her stratagem is all too clear: the birds will allow her to indulge in further polemics, and to disclaim responsibility.<sup>87</sup> They receive a circumstantial introduction—was the laurel not aware of their presence? It seems

<sup>84</sup> Pfeiffer on 46–92: “loquitur oliva quae vv. 64–87 (?) verba avium refert”.

<sup>85</sup> Frame not closed/poem ending with direct speech: Verg. *Ecl.* 2 (contrast Theoc. 11); Führer (1967) 1–104, esp. 55–7, and 61f; Esser (1976) 129f. Cf. Wilamowitz (1913) 306,1; Helm (1935).

<sup>86</sup> ἐγὼ μὲν is emphatic and marks the contrast (Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011, 256–9). γρύζω: Hippon. fr. 70,6 W.; Herod. 1,36?; 3,37 (with Cunningham), and 85; 6,34; and comedy. For the zeugma, cf. A. *Pr.* 21 οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν | ὄψει (both times οὔτε–οὔτε, with an attribute ἀπὸ κοινοῦ in the second clause). 82 shows that at least one of the birds is a crow; cf. Pfeiffer on scholion 62. The papyrus has οὐδεν (by a later hand).

<sup>87</sup> Dawson 52; Howald–Staiger 336f; Trypanis 119.

that the olive is making them up.<sup>88</sup> *τινθυρίζουσαι* and *κωτίλον ζεύγος* that they are, they suit her purpose.<sup>89</sup> The olive's brief and elegant rebuttal of the laurel's claims was only a prelude after all; her revenge is only just beginning.

The first point which the birds discuss is the origin of laurel and olive (64–9). Aetiology marks the turn to a systematic evaluation of the trees' claims. So far, the olive's efforts have been negative. She has dismantled the laurel's arguments one by one. In their place, she now presents a positive demonstration of how to establish your superiority properly. She begins *πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρῶτων*. Instead of rambling associations, she offers a systematic approach.<sup>90</sup>

The olive, of course, makes sure that we hear the whole argument. But in keeping with her fiction of a *κωτίλον ζεύγος*, she takes pains to give the impression that she is just tuning into a lively conversation already well under way, that she is quoting only part of an extended exchange. This is the effect of the *δέ* at the start of the dialogue (64), and of the animated sequence of brief questions and answers.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Pace Deubner (1921) 371.

<sup>89</sup> On *τινθυρίζω* and its comic antecedents, see Pfeiffer, and note scholion 62 δξ[έα κράζουσai, κρώζουσai, with Pfeiffer's note. Cf. above, Ch. 2 n. 41; Sch. Il. IX 311. *κωτίλον*: S. fr. 683 (with Pearson; Barret on E. *Hipp.*, p. 25); Arist. *HA* I 1 p. 488<sup>a</sup>33; cf. Hes. *Op.* 374 with West; Coppola (1935) 90,1.

<sup>90</sup> Praise *ἀπὸ γένους* is a standard topic of the encomium: Russell–Wilson on *Men. Rhet.*, pp. xi–xxxiv, esp. xxv–xxix; 229; 245; 248f; cf. Buchheit (1960). There is an encomium of the fig in *POxy.* XVII 2084. The question-and-answer format may recall school catechisms (Käppel's introduction to *POxy.* LVI 3829; Criboire [1996] 53f); for *πρῶτοι εὔρεταιί*, see Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. Carm.* I 3,12 (with literature). No points of contact with the praise of the olive in S. *OC* 694–706, but comparison is helpful: there the celebration of Attica through plants and animals and their gods (with emphasis on Attic legends), here systematic evaluation of the trees' merits. Sophocles' juxtaposition of *γλαυκάς* . . . *ελαίας* (701) with *χὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνα* (706; Kamerbeek on 701) is followed by Nonn. *D.* XII 112 *γλαυκὸν Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκῶπιδι θαλλὸν ἐλαίης*.

<sup>91</sup> Deubner (1921) 371–5, esp. 373–5; Herter (1937) 165. Pfeiffer, in his apparatus, compares the use of *δέ* “in principio orationis” (with literature). Denniston 172f: “The object is, no doubt, to give a conversational turn to the opening (‘Well’), and to avoid formality” (172). Pfeiffer's examples are, however, of a different nature. In *Il.* VI 123, the particle marks the verbal reaction to the external situation: Glaucus and Diomedes step forward to fight each other, and Diomedes asks *τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι*; ‘And who are you?’ (natural after *τίς*:

The laurel's parentage is not quite clear.<sup>92</sup> γῆ suggests something rather ordinary, and this must also be the point of the mischievous enumeration in 65: "Jedes neue Erdgewächs lässt den Wert des Lorbeers um eine Stufe sinken, am Schluss des Verses ist er in der Masse der Gleichgestellten vollständig untergegangen."<sup>93</sup>

At the end of the line, Hunt, Gallavotti, and Dawson retain the first scribe's ὕλην; Pfeiffer prefers (and Dawson translates) the corrector's πεύκην.<sup>94</sup> A climax is needed, and Hunt thought that πεύκην would spoil it. ὕλην could only work as a pointed generalization. The line cannot just end with the words 'like wood', it should be 'like all (the) wood'.<sup>95</sup> ὥς ὕλην is hardly specific enough to make that point. An individual species seems required to cap the series of trees—but what precisely is the point of this sequence? Are these trees particularly vulgar, mundane, trivial, useless? Or is the point that, unlike the olive, they have no divine inventor (not even Zeus' oak), but just grew? What is the effect of πεύκη at the end? I have no answer.<sup>96</sup>

65 is the first line of fol. v<sup>r</sup>. On this page, the scribe has made several mistakes. In the second line (66), his eye jumped from τίς δ' εὖρ' ἐλαίην (66) to τίς τὴν ἐλαίην (70), and he continued

Denniston 173–7). Similarly, S. OC 38 is no example of inceptive δέ: (Ξένος.) πρὶν νυν τὰ πλείον' ἱστορεῖν, ἐκ τῆς δ' ἔδρας | ἐξελθ'. ἔχεις γὰρ χώρον οὐχ ἄγνόν πατεῖν. | (Οἰδίπους.) τίς δ' ἔσθ' ὁ χώρος; τοῦ θεῶν νομίζεται; Again, the particle follows the interrogative pronoun, and here, it looks back to the preceding line (χώρον ~ χώρος): 'Well, what about this place?' In 64, too, δέ does not introduce a continuous speech. It implies the context of a dialogue, and signals a new point.

<sup>92</sup> Above, n. 64. γῆ τε καὶ κα[τα]ς[ταγμοί] Gallavotti (a medical term); κα[θυ]ρ[α]σμός Barigazzi (1980) 245 (dubious credentials).

<sup>93</sup> Bühler (1964) 245.

<sup>94</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; Hunt on POxy. VII 1011, 261; Babr. Prol. I 9 ἐλάλει δὲ πεύκη καὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς δάφνης.

<sup>95</sup> Gallavotti 81: "e tutto il bosco".

<sup>96</sup> The two deciduous balance the two coniferous trees. δρῦς–πεύκη is a common pair (Wilamowitz on E. HF 241). A case of polarity expressing totality (Kannicht on E. Hel. 229–31)? Another list of trees without eatable fruit: Verg. Ecl. 7, 65f. The πεύκη at least is not useless: cf. Blümner (1879) 271f. The proverb πεύκης τρόπον does not appear to be relevant (Zen. V 76; Diogenian. III 60; Apostol. XIV 24; Hdt. VI 37 πίτυος τρόπον). The sign in the left margin is much destroyed (Pfeiffer's apparatus). It is in the same ink as, and may mark the insertion of, 66–70 from the upper margin (where I find no corresponding sign).

from there, leaving out 66b–70a. The missing lines were added in the upper margin by a corrector, and the ‘wrong’ start of 70 (= 66a) was altered.<sup>97</sup> In these lines, the birds discuss the olive’s origin.<sup>98</sup> It is so much more distinguished than the laurel’s that the first point goes to the olive.<sup>99</sup>

Next, the birds inquire after the divine protectors of the two trees (69–72). Either can boast a powerful patron, and a draw is called. Still, the laurel’s link with Apollo is arguably a little less special than the olive’s with her *inventrix*, Pallas (ἡ δὲ Παλλὰς ἦν εὖρε 71). This is about as much as the olive is prepared to concede to the laurel, and even here she makes it unmistakably clear that she yields, not to her opponent, but to the gods—θεοὺς γὰρ οὐ διακρίνω (72).

The first ‘fall’ (πέπτωκε 69) has introduced a metaphor from wrestling. In wrestling, three falls constitute victory. The draw will therefore make it necessary to have at least two more rounds. The olive both observes and varies the strict pattern of a formal ἀγών.<sup>100</sup>

Point three is a comparison of their fruit (73–8). The olive, of course, emerges as the more useful of the two. Once more, the laurel is dealt with in the most peremptory fashion: just one line of utter condemnation (74). Her claims are buried under

<sup>97</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus; Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011, 262–5 = 261–4.

<sup>98</sup> Pfeiffer’s note, and I 505. Hippon. fr. 75,2 W. φυκι[. On Wilamowitz’s ἀρχαῖος, see Pfeiffer II 118. For Ἀκτῆ, see Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 1; Hollis (1992) 3: “clearly regarded by Callimachus as a *primitive* name of Attica, to be used in this context of a time before the synoecism of Theseus—as in the Iambi (fr. 194, 68 Pf.) of the time when Pallas and Poseidon disputed the possession of Attica”.

<sup>99</sup> This is the laurel’s first ‘fall’ (Pfeiffer). Fraenkel compares A. *Eu.* 589 ἐν μὲν τόδ’ ἤδη τῶν τριῶν παλαιμαμάτων (in the margin of his copy, kept in the Ashmolean). The metaphor is derived from the three falls that constitute victory in wrestling (continuing the Olympic theme): Garvie on A. *Ch.* 339; Gardiner (1910) 378, and (1930) 183 (cf. *JHS* 25, 1905, 26); Harris (1964) 102; 207,57; Weiler (1981) 169–76 (with literature); D’Alessio 609,81.

<sup>100</sup> Clayman 25, and (1978–9) 145; Körte-Händel 102: “Wettkampf nach Punkten”. Note the article in τὰ τρί’ ἡ δάφνη κείται (80). Ar. *Ra.* 1269 δύο κοὶ κόπω Αἰσχύλε τούτω; 1272 τρίτος ὥςχύλε κοὶ κόπος οὗτος; Thiele (1911) 378; Dawson 53; Pfeiffer on 78 and 80. On this type of ἀγών, see Waites (1912) 37–9 (although *Iambus* IV is hardly to be called allegorical: no “strife of opposing principles” [2]); Radermacher on Ar. *Ra.*, pp. 25–8, esp. 27f; Deubner (1921) 371–5; Puelma 312–15; Dawson 52f; Herter (1937) 164.

a pile of negatives. Fraenkel observes “proverb. subesse videtur”.<sup>101</sup> A proverbial ring would enhance the mockery.

The laurel’s defeat appears so devastating, because she is measured by standards designed to suit the olive. Where she fails, the olive scores: “lauri fructu neque cibo neque potu neque unguento uti potes (74), at oliva ad edendum et unguendum et potandum utilis”.<sup>102</sup> You can eat the olive-cake (75f),<sup>103</sup> use the oil for ointment (76), and drink (the brine of?) the pickled olive “which Theseus drank, too” (77).<sup>104</sup> This is an allusion to the famous hospitality-scene in the *Hecale*, and in particular to the pickled olive in fr. 248 Pf. = fr. 36,4f Hollis.<sup>105</sup>

There is, however, a difference between the two passages. In *Iambus IV*, *στέμφυλον*, *χρῖμα*, and *κολυμβάς* are different products of the fruit: the olive-cake (which remains when the fruit is pressed), the oil for which you press it, and the pickled

<sup>101</sup> Fraenkel compares A. *Pr.* 479f and Theoc. 11,2 (note in the margin of his copy); cf. Pfeiffer II 118; Gow on Theoc. 11,2; Griffith on A. *Pr.* 479f.

<sup>102</sup> Pfeiffer. Cf. Phaed. III 17; Jeremy Taylor, *The Worthy Communicant* V 3 (p. 169 Heber-Eden).

<sup>103</sup> On the corruption in 75, see Pfeiffer’s apparatus. *ὁ ἀλιέως* Lloyd-Jones (Parsons; a lowly recipient could balance Theseus); *ἀλ(φ)ίτων* Coppola; *ἡ ἀλητῶν* Barigazzi (1980) 245. Cf. Hippon. fr. 39,3f W., and *Hec.* fr. 74,5 Hollis (with his note). *μάσταξ*: Rengakos (1992) 30f.

<sup>104</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus; *ἔπωνε* must be right in view of *μήτε πῖνε* (74). For the form, cf. *Cer.* 95 *χω̄ μαστός τὸν ἔπωνε* (with Hopkinson). *ετρωνε* cannot be read: one would expect to see the descender of ρ. *πίνειν* of solids (*pace* D’Alessio 610,84): Hes. *Th.* 459 with West; Pl. *Euthphr.* 6A2. Cf. Cratin. fr. 171,14 K.-A., and A. fr. 91 R., with Luppe, *ZPE* 106, 1995, 3f; 1 *Ep.Cor.* 15,54 *κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νίκος* (with LXX *Is.* 25,8). But why imperfect? Did Theseus enjoy his meal so much that he ‘kept swallowing’ the poor woman’s provisions? Cf. Nonn. *D.* V 260 *πίονας ὑγροτόκοιο γονὰς ἔθλιψεν ἐλαίης*; XLVII 86 *πάτριον οὐ πόμα τοῦτο λοχεύεται Ἀτθὶς ἐλαίη* (at 83, honey is called *ποτὸν* . . . *μελίσσης*). At XII 262, Dionysus taunts Athena: *εἰ δύναιαι, γλαυκῶπι, τεῆς πίε καρπὸν ἐλαίης*. (I am grateful to A. S. Hollis and Christoph Selzer for drawing my attention to these passages.)

<sup>105</sup> 77 figures as *Testimonium 2* in Hollis’s edition of the *Hecale*; cf. Pfeiffer. The two poems share also the *Vogelgespräch* (Hollis 232); cf. Barigazzi (1954) 326f. Further parallels: Hollis on *Hec.*, p. 4; Pfeiffer on fr. 237; Dawson 54; Cameron 437. Odd that the crow should be boosting Athena’s tree—or is that the point: to establish a cross-reference to the *Hecale*? Cf. frr. 70–3 Hollis (with his commentary). On *Selbstzitat*, see Pfeiffer’s ‘index rerum notabilium’ s.v. ‘Callimachus’ (II 129): ‘C. sua ipse verba repetit’; ‘C. ipse sua verba variavit’; ‘de eadem re diversis locis diversa’; ‘C. id tecte significat de quo alio loco fusius egerat’.



fruit itself. In the *Hecale*, the context of the quotation and the comments in Athenaeus and the *Suda* show that γεργέριμος, πίτυρις, and φθινοπωρίς are not different products of the fruit (or various stages of the produce), but different types of the fruit, as distinguished by the time of harvest, or the method of preparation. On the evidence of the *Suda*, the φθινοπωρίς in the *Hecale* is the same as the κολυμβάς in *Iambus* IV; but here, it is contrasted with other products prepared from the fruit, whereas there, it is set against other ways of preparing the fruit itself.

One can go one step further. The fragment from the *Hecale* lists, not just different recipes, but different plants. The passages collected by Pfeiffer show that the different kinds of olive are not only harvested at different times and treated in various ways, but also grown on different species of the olive-tree.<sup>106</sup> The same emerges from the technical writers.<sup>107</sup> Cato, for instance, mentions “oleam conditivam” (which looks like the Latin for κολυμβάς = φθινοπωρίς) in a list, not of recipes, but of plants: he explains the conditions of place, soil, and weather which each species needs to prosper.<sup>108</sup>

If Pfeiffer’s conclusion is correct, it makes a nice point. In the fragment from the *Hecale*, the emphasis lies on the variety of fruit and, by implication, of trees. *Hecale* can offer only olives—but in abundant variety! There is plenty in her poverty, and *Hecale* offers everything she has. In *Iambus* IV, the olive stresses her productive versatility: There is the fruit, but there is also much else.<sup>109</sup> This is about ‘the olive’ in general, not about a copious diversity of species.

This, then, is the laurel’s second ‘fall’ (78). Her final defeat is swiftly brought about by the question of ἰκεσία (79f).<sup>110</sup> Again, the criterion is chosen to suit the olive, and it is clear from their swift exchanges that ‘the birds’ are enjoying their game, and play it with gusto.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> See Pfeiffer on fr. 248; Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 36,4f.

<sup>107</sup> See Verg. *G.* II 85–6 with Mynors’s note (for Cato, Varro, Columella, Pliny, and Macrobius); cf. *RE* XVII 2, 1937, 2008f.

<sup>108</sup> Cato *Agr.* VI 1.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *RE* XVII 2, 1937, 2012f. The olive’s wood is used, but not the laurel’s: Meiggs (1982). Callimachus avoids that topic.

<sup>110</sup> Stengel (1920) 30. Clayman (1978–9) 146 forgets that a fourth question is necessary after the inconclusive outcome of the second (above, n. 100).

<sup>111</sup> On τεύ γάρ (79; 83), see Denniston 82f; 85. Again, similar line-beginnings

Her victory is established, and the olive seems to draw her speech to a close. She reminds her victim that it is the birds who are talking,<sup>112</sup> and pretends to interrupt and rebuke them (81f).<sup>113</sup> But again, her concern is specious. She makes the birds go on. Her own lines are just a reminder that she is not to be held responsible for what the birds are yet going to say.<sup>114</sup>

Her finishing blows are well calculated. First, she turns to the laurel's Delian connection (20), and lets the birds remind her of the sacred olive-tree on Delos (83f).<sup>115</sup> The laurel has made much of her association with Apollo—but it was the olive who was there when the god was born!

The next lines are largely destroyed (85–92), but it is clear from ὦς εἶπε (93) that the olive's speech ends at 92. When do the birds stop? Before 92, so that the olive can conclude in her own voice? Pfeiffer considers whether the birds might stop at 87.<sup>116</sup> Fraser thinks that 84 is the last line of their dialogue.<sup>117</sup> For Clayman, the olive resumes with 81f.<sup>118</sup> (She misses the parenthetical character of 81f, and the resumption of the dialogue in 83.)

It seems unlikely that 87 (ἡλαίη) was spoken by the olive. But what about the third-person reference to the laurel (τὴν δάφνην) in the last line of the speech (92)? The olive always addresses her opponent directly (46–8; 55f; 56f; 57f; 60). References to the trees in the third person are characteristic of the birds (*passim*). So are judgements in the first person (72; 78; cf. 73).

trapped the scribe: from 82a, he jumped back to 79b and copied the following lines a second time; this time, he got προτείνουσι in 79 right (the first time, he wrote προτιμῶσι). See Pfeiffer's apparatus (correcting the *editio princeps*). The sign in front of 81 can hardly refer to the diplography; the one after the repetition looks like the lower part of a bracket.

<sup>112</sup> Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011, 277.

<sup>113</sup> On λαίδρη: Frentz (1967) 99f; Reinsch-Werner (1976) 287f, 1.

<sup>114</sup> Pfeiffer: "duo versus, in parenthesi, in memoriam revocant non olivam ipsam sed aves loqui". Cf. Deubner (1921) 372f; D'Alessio 611, 85.

<sup>115</sup> Pfeiffer collects the testimonia; cf. Hehn-Schrader (1894) 101–20, esp. 106f; Deubner (1921) 372f. For Lobel's supplement in 84, see fr. 203, 62.

<sup>116</sup> Pfeiffer on 46–92 (above, n. 84).

<sup>117</sup> Fraser I 743.

<sup>118</sup> Clayman 25f, and (1978–9) 145f. Dawson is not quite clear: "No satisfactory supplement has been offered for vv. 76–82 [= 85–91], but it seems likely that the olive took up in reverse order the laurel's first three claims to superiority" (49).

Again, 92 fits the bill: ἅπαντα πίπτειν ταῦτά φ]ημι τὴν δάφνην (with Hunt's and Crusius' supplements).<sup>119</sup> 83–92 must be spoken by the birds.

The olive flaunts her reticence (ἀλλ' ἄριστον ἢ σωπή 59), and ends without a statement of her own. That is the point of her parenthesis in 81f. 'Mind you, it is not I', she says, and hands back to the birds for the *coda stretta*. The combat is over, the birds continue. No wonder the laurel is furious (93–5).

Here, much remains obscure. That is a pity—it must have been the climax of the olive's speech. Its start is promising (83f): after giving birth to Apollo, Leto rested on—an olive trunk! The next lines may have compared the use of olive (87) and of laurel crowns (86), perhaps on public occasions (85).<sup>120</sup> 88 is still about trees—but how does the pear come in (τὴν ὄγχνην)? 89 mentions praise (and blame?)—is it leading up to the final judgement?

How did these lines counter the laurel's claims? μάντεϊς (90) and ἐπὶ φλιῆς (91) seem to look back to 24f,<sup>121</sup> the Delian olive (83f) to 20. Lines 85–9, too, should have their point of reference in the laurel's speech. It appears that the laurel's arguments are still discussed in reverse order.<sup>122</sup> If so, the target of 85–9 is lost in the lacuna between 21 and 22.

Perhaps the birds (aware of all the laurel has said: 63) leave her least relevant points till the end. After all has been dealt with, they announce their decision in 92, leaving the laurel in exasperation, and the reader with the impression *hic locus per-purgatus*.

At the end of the olive's speech, the laurel is furious (93–100):

ὥς εἶπε· τῇ δ' ὁ θυμὸς ἀμφὶ τῇ ῥήσει  
ἤλγησε, μέζων δ' ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἤγχε[ρ]θη

<sup>119</sup> Alternatively, -τίθ]ημι; cf. 78.

<sup>120</sup> Is the olive 'victorious' or 'sign of victory' (87)? A reference to the Olympic games? Or did the birds end by saying that the olive wins and is her own crown of victory? Honorific crowns: Blech (1982) 161; Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* I 345. Laurel crowns: Hippon. fr. 4 W.; cf. Apul. *Met.* IV 26. Crasis mark on ἡλαιο: above, Ch. 3 n. 28. Conjectures: 87 κῆναντ]a Diels; πλακεῖς]a, πλεχθεῖς]a Platt; ἡχθεῖς]a Pfeiffer. 89 ] . c, χ, κ, ζ? κοῦ τέκοι Lobel.

<sup>121</sup> Pfeiffer's note.

<sup>122</sup> Dawson 49 (above, n. 118); Trypanis 125,d; D'Alessio 611,87.

τ]ὰ δεύτερ' ἐς τὸ νεῖκος, ἔστε τιν . [ 95  
 βάτος τὸ τρηχὺ τειχέων π . . δ . [ . ] να  
 ἔλεξεν (ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἄπωθε τῶν δεινδρέων).  
 "οὐκ ὦ τάλαιnai παυσόμεθα, μὴ χαρταί  
 γενώμεθ' ἐχθροῖς, μηδ' ἐρούμεν ἀλλήλας  
 ἄνολβ' ἀναιδέως, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γ' . β . . μ . ;" 100

She is just about to renew her attack, when a βάτος intervenes—compare the *Diegesis* (VII 11–18):

ἐπὶ πλείον δὲ διαφερομένων ὑποτιτυχοῦσα βάτος παλαιά· "πέπαυθε<sup>123</sup> | πρὶν  
 εἰ μὴ<sup>124</sup> ἐ[π]ίχαρτοι <τοῖς> δυσ[μ]ενέσι<sup>125</sup> γεινώμεθα" (π[αρ]επεφύκ[ει δ'  
 αὐ]ταῖς). | πρ[ὸς] ἣν ἀποβλέψασα [.....]<sup>126</sup> ἡ δά[φν]η "ὦ κακὴ λώβη", φη[σὶν],  
 "ὥς δὴ μί' ἡμέων καὶ σύ; ...]σεικο[.....]σε | ..]ινητ[....]ατωδρα[.....]εἰσεις<sup>127</sup>

Here, the *Diegesis* is quite close to the text (cf. *Dieg.* VII 14 and line 97), but not close enough to help read the line-endings of 94–100.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>123</sup> The papyrus has πεπαυθαι. *c* preceding *θ* is frequently lost in the mid.-pass. inf. perf. (type πεπαιδευθαι); Crönert (1903) 22of,3. However, the phenomenon is not restricted to this form or any particular group; *pace* Pfeiffer, it is phonological, not morphological. Cf. Mayser-Schmoll I 1, 179; Gignac I 130; Kapsomenos, *ByzJ* 16, 1939–40, 18f.

<sup>124</sup> For πρὶν εἰ μὴ, Kapsomenos (preceding note) 19 compares πρότερον εἰ μὴ *c. conl.* (also with ind., see Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon* s.v. πρότερον), but the examples collected by Radermacher (1925) 201f, and *WS* 40, 1918, 168f, show that πρότερον εἰ μὴ is attested only after negative main clause (the only case in which a conditional notion makes sense). It is easier to follow Dawson, who explains the phrase as "probably due to confusion of two different constructions, πρὶν ἢ + subjunctive and μὴ + subjunctive" (40; although πρὶν ἢ regularly takes the infinitive in the papyri: Mayser II 3, 77; 80). Nothing in Schmid's *Atticismus*, and Tschuschke (1913).

<sup>125</sup> A scholar's Homerizing paraphrase: see Pfeiffer on 98f, and add II. VI 82; Terzaghi (1951) 176.

<sup>126</sup> [ὑποδράξ] Norsa-Vitelli; [οἶα ταῦρος] Vogliano (both after 101, see Pfeiffer's apparatus); [πάνυ ἀγρίως] Vogliano; [ταυρηδόν] Gallavotti.

<sup>127</sup> Gallavotti, Dawson 40: τίς εἶ; κό[προς εἶ] σὺ ἐ[λε]νὴ· τ[ῆι β]άτω(ι) ἄρα [ὅμοια σὺ τ][ε]ίσεις. ἐλενὴ, τίσεις Vogliano; σύ Castiglioni; cetera Maas; see Pfeiffer's apparatus; Hughes 188,427; cf. 203f.

<sup>128</sup> 93–101 have almost completely disappeared from the papyrus. 94 ]εν Hunt, Lobel, Rea, ἡπειγεν? Reeve (Parsons). 95 εστε γρηυς τ[ις Rea (cf. *Dieg.* VII 12; Parsons); τείν[ουσα Barigazzi (1980) 246; ibid. 96 π[ερί]δ[ραγ]μα; Rea approves περιφρα[γ]μα (Parsons). 98f Housman, *CQ* 4, 1910, 120 (= *Classical Papers* II 807) tried μὴ χλεύη or λάσθη | γενώμεθ' ἐχθραῖς (the reading of the *editio princeps*); χαρμα? Rea (LSJ I.2; Theoc. 2,20; Parsons). 99 ἐρεῦμεν V.

The most remarkable stylistic feature of the bramble's few lines of exhortation is her insistent use of first person plural verbs (thrice in three lines; perhaps another at the end of 100).<sup>129</sup> This is too much for the laurel (101-6):

τὴν δ' ἄρ' ὑποδράξ οἶα ταῦρος ἡ δάφνη  
 ἔβλεψε καὶ τὰδ' εἶπεν· "ὦ κακὴ λώβη,  
 ὥς δὴ μί' ἡμέων καὶ κύ; μή με ποιήσαι  
 Ζεὺς τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ γειτονεῦς' ἀποπνίγεις  
 ] .c οὐ μὰ Φοῖβον, οὐ μὰ δέσποιναν,  
 τῇ κ]ύμβαλοι ψοθεῦσιν, οὐ μὰ Πακτ[ωλόν

105

The laurel is raging with anger.<sup>130</sup> Now she has found her butt, and all her helpless fury at the olive's devious defence turns against the bramble. 102f echo the opening line and establish a point of reference between the frame and the fable.<sup>131</sup> The laurel is still continuing her abuse, when the papyrus breaks off with 106.<sup>132</sup>

The extent of the following lacuna cannot be determined exactly.<sup>133</sup> Not much will be lost: the story is drawing to a

Schmidt 41,2. 100 ἀνολβ' ἀναιδέως ἄλλα; Maas (Pfeiffer I 505; cf. K.-G. II 341). 100 end γης[.]μαι Rea (Parsons); ὕβρισμα Lee (1977) (with the editor's note on p. 238: β not certain, β-μ too long, ρ after β good); ἄλλα [sic] ταῦτά γ' ἀρ[κείτω or [ῥ]β[ριστα Barigazzi (1980) 246f (comparing S. *Aj.* 76).

<sup>129</sup> Cf. the Aesopic fable quoted by Pfeiffer on 96ff. For the οὐκ-μηδέ construction, see Pfeiffer on 98f; S. *Aj.* 75, and *Tr.* 1183, with Jebb's notes, and his Appendix on the *Ajax* passage; K.-G. I 177. Hunt on *POxy.* VII 1011,215 points out that no other example of this idiom in the first person is on record: it normally replaces an imperative, and is here chosen to cast into relief the 1st pers. pl. verbs.

<sup>130</sup> Pfeiffer on 101; Herod. 7,95 κακὴ λώβη (with Headlam and Cunningham). Puelma reads ηλαφρη (101) as ἡλαφρή, ironically for "den 'Sanften, Umgänglichen'" (237 with n. 4), but in this part of the papyrus, one would expect the crasis to be marked. Gallavotti (1957) 165f accepts ἡ λάφρη = ἡ δάφνη. Multiple oaths: Werres (1936); Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 74,10f; Gomme-Sandbach on Men. *Sam.* 309; Dunbar on Ar. *Av.* 194. The effect is one of comic exaggeration.

<sup>131</sup> *Dieg.* VII 16f; Dawson 53; Bühler (1964) 233f; Fraser I 743; II 1046,223.

<sup>132</sup> On 102, Barigazzi (1980) 247 compares Herod. 7,95. On 104, cf. 97, and *Dieg.* VII 14; Hippon. fr. 102,1f W. In 105 ] .c: α or ι Rea (Parsons); Dawson on 96 (= 105 Pf.) tried ὡς κόπρ]oc; cf. *Dieg.* VII 17, and Ar. *Pax* 9f; Barigazzi (1980) 247 οὐκ οἴcθ]ac. Cf. Pfeiffer. In 106 κύμβαλα Gallavotti (Pfeiffer).

<sup>133</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus on 107-17. Somewhere in this lacuna, Barigazzi (1980) 247 expects οὐ μὴν μί' εἰς [!] κύ γ' ἡμέων τῶν ὑψηλῶν—again, an ἰcχιop-ρωγικός.

close. Perhaps a *fabula docet* before the concluding lines (107–117):

|         |              |     |
|---------|--------------|-----|
|         | ]αc ἀλλήλους |     |
|         | ]δρῆcτης     |     |
|         | ]· ἔcτηκεν   |     |
|         | ]ῆδιστος·    | 110 |
|         | πε]ποιήcθω·  |     |
|         | ]μη χείρων   |     |
|         | ]ολπῆι·      |     |
|         | ]            |     |
| · ηρ· [ | ]            | 115 |
| τοδ· [  | ]·           |     |
| ἔχει [  | ]            |     |

The line-endings are preserved in *PSI* XI 1216 col. i 1–11, the beginnings of 115–117 in *PRyl.* III 485,1–3. Both fragments preserve parts of the opening line of *Iambus* V (extant in *Dieg.* VII 19), and this determines their exact relation to each other. Two strokes in *PSI* 1216, and a coronis in *PRyl.* 485, show that 117 is the last line of *Iambus* IV.<sup>134</sup>

The argument of these closing lines is beyond recovery. Dawson gives the following account:<sup>135</sup> “In the final verses the laurel may perhaps have informed the bramble that it had no right to interfere when the laurel and olive were criticizing one another (ἀλλήλους), and may have deprecated the possibility that an inferior (μη χείρων) should arbitrate in a literary (μολπῆι) debate between its betters.” It is not even clear, however, whether the poem ended with the fable (rather like the olive’s speech), or whether the speaker rounded it off with some words of his own.<sup>136</sup> If ἀλλήλους (107) were to refer to the trees, one would expect a feminine form. And why should the trees suddenly discuss literature? This leads me to some concluding remarks.

Like so many of Callimachus’ poems, *Iambus* IV has been regarded as an allegory for its author’s literary quarrels.<sup>137</sup> The

<sup>134</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus.

<sup>135</sup> Dawson 51.

<sup>136</sup> “107 sqq. non iam ad αἶνον pertinere videntur, sed ad ‘epilogum’?” (Pfeiffer). Cf. Howald 48; Howald–Staiger 341; Barigazzi (1980) 247; Hughes 188; 199,441. On 108, cf. Pfeiffer’s apparatus for *Dieg.* VII 17ff.

<sup>137</sup> Diels (1910) 997f, and Schroeder, *BPhW* 31, 1911, 891, identified

only piece of evidence for this comes from the *Diegesis* (VII 2f): διεφέρετο ὁ ποιητῆς πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἐφ' αὐτῶν, 'one of his rivals'. But is it clear that this is a poetic rival, not, for instance, an erotic competitor? He is called Θράξ, and παιδοκλέπτης, after all (*Dieg.* VII 5f).

However, Simus' implicit arrogation of competence and status suits an erotic quarrel perhaps less well than a literary one. The *Diegesis* does not specify the nature of the rivalry, and it seems natural to accept the stock image of a Callimachus engaged in poetic feuds.<sup>138</sup> And yet, precisely because this assumption is so natural, it could be mere guesswork. The text of the poem itself is almost complete, and there is nothing to suggest a debate of poetic principles. The point of the quarrel is not spelt out.<sup>139</sup>

In *Iambus* IV, I conclude, the polemics are not about poetry, the trees do not stand for poets.<sup>140</sup> What, then, is the poem about? Most of it is taken up by the fable.<sup>141</sup> What is the role of the αἶνος? Fraser writes: "Evidently, the presumptuous Simus was largely forgotten in the pleasure of telling the allegory".<sup>142</sup> Did Callimachus not know what he was doing? The handling of the fable makes, I think, the author's strategy quite clear.<sup>143</sup>

Prima facie, the fable is told to put down the intruder. This

Callimachus with the olive, and the laurel with Alexander Aetolus. A. D. Knox (1925-6) 253f, thought that Callimachus was the laurel, the olive Herodas, and that their debate was about metre. Cf. Delage (1940) 98f; Howald-Staiger 331; Hughes 188 ("incontestably"); 204f ("conclusively"); 207-12 compare *Ov. Am.* III 1 (esp. 208; cf. 215-21).

<sup>138</sup> This is, for instance, Puelma's view (236-44), who describes the poem as a variation on the stock motif of ἐρως ἀοιδῶν and sees "Kallimachos selbst . . . im Streite mit einem anderen Dichter" (236); to him, the trees are symbols for two poets and their different stylistic characteristics (239f). Cf. Wimmel (1960) 123-7 ("Stilkampf").

<sup>139</sup> Herter (1973) 218, 56-60; Schwinge (1986) 44f, 126: ". . . lediglich das Faktum des Streits des Kallimachos mit einem seiner Konkurrenten (vgl. *Dieg.* VII 2f.), ohne daß eine Identifizierung möglich wäre; sogar der Gegenstand der Auseinandersetzung bleibt hier unbekannt." On allegory, see above, n. 100.

<sup>140</sup> Nor are they "parodies of certain contemporary literary types" (Clayman 29; cf. 26; 28f; [1978-9] 148).

<sup>141</sup> Clayman 29 (cf. 24; [1978-9] 144).

<sup>142</sup> Fraser I 743.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Hutchinson 53f.

is the point of 103 echoing the opening line. However, that becomes clear only late in the poem. Before we get there, the speaker dwells on the trees' quarrel in so much detail and with so much glee that we suspect the *fabula docet* is little more than a pretext.

What, then, is the speaker up to? Ostensibly, he rebukes the intruder. In fact, he uses the *ai̯voc* to re-enact and continue the quarrel. For some hundred lines, he concentrates, not on the bramble, but on the trees, their quarrel, their style of debate. Ostensibly, these reflections are addressed to Simus. In fact, they have nothing to do with him. The one who is meant to hear them, and whom they are designed to ridicule, is the speaker's rival.<sup>144</sup>

This analysis of the speaker's strategy is confirmed by what he has the olive do. Her procedure closely mirrors his own. The speaker pretends to tell Simus a tale which is really meant for his rival. The olive pretends to report the birds' chatter, only to strike her final blow against the laurel. Both continue their attack, and both refuse to take the blame.

The *ai̯voc* has a setting, and only in this setting does its purpose become clear: If the speaker uses his *ai̯voc* to ridicule his rival, he must see himself as the olive—to whom he assigns a device as clever as his own.<sup>145</sup> I do not say 'Callimachus is the olive',<sup>146</sup> but I do think that it must be the speaker's intention

<sup>144</sup> Körte-Händel 102f: "Man kann annehmen, daß sich hinter dem Ölbaum unser Kallimachos verbirgt. In der fabelhaften Erzählung des Streits und der Einmischung ist nicht nur der Eindringling, sondern auch der Partner in außerordentlich geistreicher Weise abgekanzelt. Ein von sich überzeugter, polternder Sprecher steht einem anderen gegenüber, der über alle Register der zweckvollen Urbanität verfügt und dadurch im Grunde obsiegt. Die Indirektheit ist seine eleganteste, seine schärfste Klinge. Denn soll man etwa daran zweifeln, daß der Ölbaum sich sein Vogelpaar eigens erfunden hat, damit er dem Gegner so verkappt die unwillkommensten Dinge sagen kann?" On *Über-Eck-Gespräche*, cf. Schadewaldt (1959) 16; Hölscher (1990) 130; 247f; 288.

<sup>145</sup> Fraser II 1046,223, thinks that the silence of the *Diegesis* excludes this. But (i) it is not completely preserved, and (ii) there is enough of the poem not to depend on it.

<sup>146</sup> Against straightforward identification, see Herter (1973) 218,56–8; Körte-Händel 349,42; Clayman (1978–9) 148 (who nevertheless regards the laurel as the Iambicist). Puelma 241f argues that Callimachus plays a double role: as olive, he is the victim of aggression, as bramble, the preacher of peace (as in I).



to liken himself to the olive. Her superiority is unmistakable.<sup>147</sup>

Callimachus the speaker sees himself as the subtle olive. With Callimachus the author, things are more complicated. The correspondence between speaker and olive is not complete. In the end, it is not the olive, but the laurel who echoes the opening words of the poem when she turns on the bramble. Does this mean that the speaker 'is' the laurel, after all?

I do not think so. It was argued above that the laurel's attack on the bramble comes late in the poem. Up to this point, the dramatic situation makes sense only if the speaker sees himself playing the role of the olive.

Why, then, this late surprise? Why does the author allow the correspondence between speaker and olive to break down? If the tale gets out of hand, that does not reflect on the author, but on the speaker. If the speaker would like to resemble the olive, the poet shows by the end of the fable that he is really rather like the laurel. The technique is familiar. In *Iambus II*, the speaker used the fig-leaf of an Aesopic tale to indulge himself while disowning responsibility. In both poems, Callimachus employs narrative inconsistencies to expose the attitude of his speakers.

In the role of the speaker, Callimachus depicts himself, but this picture is far from straightforward. The speaker's view of himself is cast in the image of the olive, sophisticated and superior. (He does not see, or even revels in, her mock-modesty, pompousness, and affectation.<sup>148</sup>) The poet's view of his speaker is rather different: he sees him as rash, excitable, and quick to anger. The olive turned the laurel's arguments against her. In the end, the speaker's tale turns against himself.

*Iambus IV* is a game of Chinese boxes. The speaker introduces the tale of laurel and olive, and the olive introduces the device of the birds. Opponent and subject of the quarrel remain

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Herter (1973) 218,51f; Howald 45f; Hughes 209f. Cozzoli (1996) 135f,24 points out that Callimachus' *Selbstzitate* are limited to the olive's part (above, nn. 105 and 115). On the characterization of the trees, the olive's subtle sophistication and ironic self-command, and the laurel's noisy aggressiveness, see Puelma 236–44, esp. 238; Clayman 26f, and (1978–9) 146f; Hutchinson 50f.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Dawson 52; Körte-Händel 349,42.

obscure; what matters is, how it is conducted. The poem is not about a quarrel, but about quarrelling; not about poetics, but about manners.

At the end of this first 'proper' Iambus, the speaker is heavily compromised. Like Hipponax, the bramble (and, presumably, Simus) tries to make peace; the speaker behaves like the scholars.<sup>149</sup> Callimachus depicts himself, the notorious quarreller, and shows his own discomfiture.<sup>150</sup> Like Archilochus, the speaker tries to use the *αἶνος* as a weapon, but it turns against him.<sup>151</sup> The poet leaves behind such Archilochean eruptions of anger, and laughs at himself.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>149</sup> D'Alessio 600,61.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. *Epigr.* 28.

<sup>151</sup> Not quite an "ironisch belehrende 'Warnung' an einen Bekannten" (Puelma 216).

<sup>152</sup> Bühler (1964) 232.

ADDENDUM to p. 104. In IV 69–72, the contrast, I take it, is between immortals in general (including minor ones) and the Heavenly Gods/*θεοὶ οὐράνιοι/Οὐρανῶνες*.

## Excursus

# The Papyri of *Iambi* V–VII

*Iambus* V is very fragmentary, but as in the case of *Iambus* III, each of its lines is attested, and one can again survey the whole.

The beginnings of the first seven lines are preserved in *PRyl.* III 485,4–10. (Lines 1–3 of this papyrus contain the end of *Iambus* IV, the last line of which is marked by a coronis.) The endings of 1–34 (22–34 fairly complete), and the beginnings of 35–68 are extant in *PSI* XI 1216 col. i 12–44 + col. ii 45–78. Line 78 of the papyrus is marked by a coronis. This papyrus, therefore, covers the whole poem. Finally, endings of nine lines belonging somewhere between 35 and 53 are found in *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 1, and fr. 2 col. i of the same papyrus preserves the endings of 54–63.

This is the reconstruction underlying Pfeiffer's presentation of the text. The arguments for this combination of the evidence are nowhere stated. They concern, not only *Iambus* V, but also VI and VII. The papyri of these poems overlap, and the questions which they raise have to be taken together. In the end, Pfeiffer's arrangement of the text will on the whole appear convincing. Some of his decisions, however, will be found to leave room for alternatives, and there will be some modifications of detail.

*PSI* 1216, *POxy.* 2171, and *POxy.* 2172 are in the same hand:<sup>1</sup> "Supersunt tria fragmenta maiora duarum columnarum quinquagenorum quinquorundem versuum et sex fragmenta minora eius partis voluminis papyracei qua *Iambi* continentur".<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt about the sequence of the pieces:<sup>3</sup> *PSI* 1216 i–ii contains the end of *Iambus* IV, the whole of *Iambus* V, and the

<sup>1</sup> Pfeiffer's "liber 7" (II xif) = 222 Marcotte–Mertens. *PSI* 1216 and *POxy.* 2171 actually join, but *POxy.* 2172 need not come from the same roll. See below, Conclusion: (A.) Compass, at (2.) The evidence of the papyri of the *Iambi*.

<sup>2</sup> Pfeiffer II xi.

<sup>3</sup> See Pfeiffer's Prolegomena; Lobel's introduction, *POxy.* XVIII, pp. 56f.

| PSI 1216 i |    | PSI 1216 ii |    | POxy. 2171 fr. 2 ii |     | fr. 5, 1 |            | fr. 4 i, 1 |    | fr. 3, 1 |  |
|------------|----|-------------|----|---------------------|-----|----------|------------|------------|----|----------|--|
|            |    | TOP         |    | TOP                 |     |          |            |            |    |          |  |
|            |    | 35          | 45 | 22                  | 1   | 2        | fr. 4 i, 1 | 15         |    |          |  |
|            |    | 36          | 46 | 23                  | 2   | 3        | 2          | 16         | 6  |          |  |
|            |    | 37          | 47 | 24                  | 3   |          | 3          | 17         | 6  |          |  |
|            |    | 38          | 48 | 25                  | 4   |          | 4          | 18         | 1  |          |  |
|            |    | 39          | 49 | 26                  | 5   |          | 5          | 19         |    |          |  |
|            |    | 40          | 50 | 27                  | 6   |          | 6          | 20         | i  |          |  |
|            |    | 41          | 51 | 28                  | 7   |          | 7 ii, l    | 21         |    |          |  |
|            |    | 42          | 52 | 29                  | 8   |          | 8 2        | 22         |    |          |  |
|            |    | 43          | 53 | fr. 1? 30           | 9   |          | 9 3        | 23         |    |          |  |
|            |    | 44          | 54 | 31                  | 10  |          | 10 4       | 24         |    |          |  |
|            | 1  | 45          | 55 | 32                  | 11  |          | 11 5       | 25         |    |          |  |
|            | 2  | 46          | 56 | 33                  | 12  |          | 12         | 26         |    |          |  |
|            | 3  | 47          | 57 | 34                  | 13  |          | 13         | 27         |    |          |  |
|            | 4  | 48          | 58 | 35                  | 14  |          | 14         | 28         |    |          |  |
|            | 5  | 49          | 59 | 36                  | 15  |          | 15         | 29         |    |          |  |
|            | 6  | 50          | 60 | 37                  | 16  |          | 16         | 30         |    |          |  |
|            | 7  | 51          | 61 | 38                  | 17  |          |            | 31         |    |          |  |
|            | 8  | 52          | 62 | 39                  | 18  |          |            | 32         |    |          |  |
|            | 9  | 53          | 63 | i, 1 40             | 19  |          |            | 33         |    |          |  |
|            | 10 | 54          | 64 | 2 41                | 20  |          |            | 34         |    |          |  |
|            | 11 | 55          | 65 | 3 42                | 21  |          |            | 35         |    |          |  |
| V          | 1  | 56          | 66 | 4 43                | 22  |          |            | 36         |    |          |  |
|            | 2  | 57          | 67 | 5 44                | 23  |          |            | 37         |    |          |  |
|            | 3  | 58          | 68 | 6 45                | 24  |          |            | 38         |    |          |  |
|            | 4  | 59          | 69 | 7 46                | 25  |          |            | 39         |    |          |  |
|            | 5  | 60          | 70 | 8 47                | 26  |          |            | 40         | P  |          |  |
|            | 6  | 61          | 71 | 9 48                | 27  |          |            | 41         | O  |          |  |
|            | 7  | 62          | 72 | 10 49               | 28  |          |            | 42         | x  |          |  |
|            | 8  | 63          | 73 | 50                  | 29  |          |            | 43         | y. |          |  |
|            | 9  | 64          | 74 | 51                  | 30  |          |            | 44         |    |          |  |
|            | 10 | 65          | 75 | 52                  | 31  |          |            | 45         | 6  |          |  |
|            | 11 | 66          | 76 | 53                  | 32  |          |            | 46         | 6  |          |  |
|            | 12 | 67          | 77 | 54                  | 33  |          |            | 47         | 1  |          |  |
|            | 13 | 68          | 78 | 55                  | 34  |          |            | 48         |    |          |  |
|            | 14 | VI 1        | 79 | 56                  | 35  |          |            | 49         | i  |          |  |
|            | 15 | 2           | 80 | 57                  | 36  |          |            | 50         | i  |          |  |
|            | 16 | 3           | 81 | 58                  | 37  | fr. 3, 1 |            | 51         |    |          |  |
|            | 17 | 4           | 82 | 59                  | 38  | 2        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 18 | 5           | 83 | 60                  | 39  | 3        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 19 | 6           | 84 | 61                  | 40  | 4        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 20 | 7           | 85 | 62                  | 41  | 5        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 21 | 8           | 86 | VII 1               | 42  | 6        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 22 | 9           | 87 | 2                   | 43  | 7        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 23 | 10          | 88 | 3                   | 44  | 8        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 24 | 11          | 89 | 4                   | 45  | 9        |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 25 | 12          | 90 | 5                   | 46  | 10       |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 26 | 13          | 91 | 6                   | 47  | 11       |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 27 | 14          | 92 | 7                   | 48  | 12       |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 28 | 15          | 93 | 8                   | 49  | 13       |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 29 | 16          | 94 | 9                   | 50  | 14       |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 30 | 17          | 95 | 10                  | 50a | 14a      |            |            |    |          |  |
|            | 31 | 18          | 96 | 11                  | 51  | 15       | P          |            |    |          |  |
|            | 32 | 19          | 97 | 12                  | 52  | 16       | O          |            |    |          |  |
|            | 33 | 20          | 98 | 13                  | 53  | 17       | x          |            |    |          |  |
|            | 34 | 21          | 99 | 14                  | 54  | 18       | y.         |            |    |          |  |
| FOOT       |    | FOOT        |    | FOOT                |     |          |            |            |    |          |  |

FIG. 1. The left-hand numbers in each double column are the line-numbers of the poems and the right-hand numbers the lines of the respective papyri; smaller figures are used for lines conjectured to have been present but now lost.

beginning of *Iambus* VI; *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii adds more of *Iambus* VI, and fr. 3 has the end of *Iambus* VI and the start of *Iambus* VII.

Furthermore, Lobel, Dawson, and Pfeiffer assume that *POxy.* 2171 frs. 2+3 form one column, and that this column follows immediately after *PSI* 1216. Figure 1 is meant to illustrate the arrangement. It incorporates the following corrections of the *editiones principes*:

- (1) the addition of *PSI* 1216 i 14a;<sup>4</sup>
- (2) the removal of *PSI* 1216 ii 100;<sup>5</sup>
- (3) the reduction of the lacuna between *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii and fr. 3 to eight lines from Lobel's nine,<sup>6</sup> on the assumption (shared by previous editors) that
  - (a) both fragments form one column,
  - (b) this column contained 55 lines, and
  - (c) long and short lines alternate;<sup>7</sup>
- (4) the addition of *POxy.* 2171 fr. 3, 14a = 50a = Call. fr. 197, 10 Pf. (missed by Lobel, but required by the epodic metre);<sup>8</sup>
- (5) the addition of *POxy.* 2171 frs. 4+5.<sup>9</sup>

If *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii (+ fr. 3) follows immediately after *PSI* 1216, these are the consequences:

(i) *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 i preserves line-ends of *PSI* 1216 ii. In height, fr. 2 i 1–10 correspond to fr. 2 ii 19–28 (= *Iambus* VI 40–9), and, what is relevant here, to *PSI* 1216 ii 63–72 (= *Iambus* V 53–62). The epodic sequence of long and short lines makes it necessary to move fr. 2 i one line up or down, and since the lines in col. i are a little lower than the corresponding lines in col. ii, it will be best to move them one line down to match *PSI* 1216 ii 64–73 (= *Iambus* V 54–63).<sup>10</sup> In this way, so far as one can tell from combining the photographs of the warped

<sup>4</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 57, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 57, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 57; 58; 59.

<sup>7</sup> Dawson; Pfeiffer; cf. Pfeiffer (1941).

<sup>8</sup> Pfeiffer, apparatus on fr. 197, 1–14.

<sup>9</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, pp. 183f.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

originals, the upper margins of *PSI* 1216 ii and *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii seem to fit neatly. (Since *PSI* 1216 is now in Cairo, it has not been available for fibre matching.)

(ii) *POxy.* 2171 fr. 1 contains ends of nine epodic lines. 8 ]*ταλαν* seems to exclude the ithyphallicus, and thus *Iambi* VI and VII. The piece will then belong somewhere between *PSI* 1216 ii 45 (= *Iambus* V 35) and 63 (= *Iambus* V 53).<sup>11</sup> (Again, fibre matching has not been possible.)

(iii) If *POxy.* 2171 frr. 2+3 preserve head and foot of the same column, the intervening lacuna will have contained eight lines (on the basis of 55 lines in *PSI* 1216 ii). Fibre matching shows the back of frr. 2+3 to be consistent with this combination.

If *POxy.* 2171 frr. 4 and 5 are combined with fr. 2, these are the results:

(i) The blank space counted as fr. 5,1 becomes part of the upper margin, that counted as fr. 5,2 proves the vacant line-end after an ithyphallicus.

(ii) The line-endings in fr. 4 i 1–16 are part of *Iambus* VI 22–37. In fr. 4 i 11–15, the upper layer of the papyrus is stripped (not left blank by short lines).<sup>12</sup>

(iii) The line-beginnings in fr. 4 ii 1–5 are part of *Iambus* VII 21–5.<sup>13</sup>

Fibre matching of fr. 2 with fr. 4 does not exclude or confirm the combination. With fr. 5, the match of horizontal fibres is very good, the back consistent.

These seem to be the considerations underlying the *textus receptus*. The combination of *POxy.* 2171 frr. 4 and 5 with fr. 2 is conjectural, but very attractive (and supported by fibre matching).

Equally, the arrangement of *PSI* 1216 + *POxy.* 2171 frr. 2–3 in three consecutive columns remains conjecture—but without serious alternative. There could be a substantial lacuna between *PSI* 1216 ii and *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii (fr. 2 i would then belong to *Iambus* VI, but fr. 1 would probably, because of line 8, still have to be attributed to *Iambus* V). A whole column or more could also be lost between *POxy.* 2171 frr. 2 and 3 (fr. 4

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 62: “5 verses lost”.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

ii, if still linked to fr. 2 ii, would then preserve part of *Iambus* VI rather than VII).

However, if one were to assume the loss of one column in each of the two possible lacunae, that would result in a poem of quite implausible length (c. 170 lines). Even one lacuna, leading to an estimate of about 120 lines for *Iambus* VI, strains belief. Discussion of *Iambus* VI will show that, whether one experiments with a major lacuna in the first or in the second position, it is not easy to say what it could have contained. 62 lines (or so) is enough.

Thus, although an element of conjecture attaches to some of Lobel's and Pfeiffer's decisions, their arrangement of the fragments is entirely convincing.

However, it is less easy to accept Lobel's and Pfeiffer's assumption that each column contained 55 lines. Their claim is based on the number of lines in the (apparently complete) second column of *PSI* 1216. This is where doubts begin.

*PSI* 1216 i 37 (= *Iambus* V 27) and ii 93 (= *Iambus* VI 15) correspond in height. In i, there follow seven lines (38–44 = *Iambus* V 28–34); in ii, an even number is required if (as seems likely) *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii follows on immediately. Lobel and Pfeiffer count six lines after *PSI* 1216 ii 93 to the foot of the column—but it could equally have been eight. (In this case, one would have to add two lines 21a+b to *Iambus* VI.) The photograph does not allow a decision. The first editors gave 56 lines in *PSI* 1216 ii (the last of which was deleted by Lobel<sup>14</sup>): this seems to favour eight lines.

Thus we lose the basis for calculating the extent of the lacuna in the next column (between *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 and 3). Between lines 49 and 58 of *Iambus* VI, the number of lines lost need not have been eight. It could have been six, or—more likely, if the preceding column contained 57 lines—ten. (In this case, one would have to add two lines 49a+b to *Iambus* VI.)

Some points on *Iambus* VII. I accepted above that *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2+3 form one column. If fr. 4 is combined with that column (as Lobel proposed), the overlap of *POxy.* IV 661 i 3 with *POxy.* 2171 fr. 3,17 (= 53) in *Iambus* VII 13 establishes

<sup>14</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 57,3; above, n. 5.

that the line-beginnings in *POxy.* 2171 fr. 4 ii 1–5 and the line-ends in *POxy.* 661 i 11–15 belong to the same lines: *Iambus* VII 21–5.<sup>15</sup>

So far, so good. Pfeiffer's reconstruction of *POxy.* IV 661, however, his calculation of the lost upper parts of columns i and ii, and his identification of the lines in column ii with lines 39–51 of *Iambus* VII, lack a solid basis.

Figure 2 is a diagram of Pfeiffer's reconstruction of the papyrus as presupposed by his presentation of the text.

|    |    |    |    |
|----|----|----|----|
|    |    |    | 26 |
| 1  |    | 27 |    |
|    | 2  |    | 28 |
| 3  |    | 29 |    |
|    | 4  |    | 30 |
| 5  |    | 31 |    |
|    | 6  |    | 32 |
| 7  |    | 33 |    |
|    | 8  |    | 34 |
| 9  |    | 35 |    |
|    | 10 |    | 36 |
| 11 |    | 37 |    |
|    | 12 |    | 38 |
| 13 |    | 39 |    |
|    | 14 |    | 40 |
| 15 |    | 41 |    |
|    | 16 |    | 42 |
| 17 |    | 43 |    |
|    | 18 |    | 44 |
| 19 |    | 45 |    |
|    | 20 |    | 46 |
| 21 |    | 47 |    |
|    | 22 |    | 48 |
| 23 |    | 49 |    |
|    | 24 |    | 50 |
| 25 |    | 51 |    |

FIG. 2

After 25, Pfeiffer states, “vv. 26–38 desunt”. How does he know how much is missing at the top of col. ii? He calculates it on the

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 184; above, n. 13.



basis of col. i. How does he know the height of col. i? He assumes that it began with the first line of the poem.<sup>16</sup>

We know how many lines of *Iambus* VII are lost before the first line of *POxy.* 661: *Iambus* VII 1–14 are preserved in *POxy.* 2171 fr. 3,6–18, and fr. 3,17 overlaps with *POxy.* 661 i 3. We do not know that *POxy.* 661 i started with *Iambus* VII. It may have contained the end of *Iambus* VI. This means that the height of col. i remains unknown, and so does that of col. ii. Accordingly, there is no way of telling how many lines are missing between fr. 197,25 and ‘39’.

Even on Pfeiffer’s own terms, there are problems. 13 corresponds in height to 39 (see Fig. 2). On Pfeiffer’s hypothesis, the top of col. ii should therefore have contained twelve lines. Col. i, however, ends with a trimeter (25). The first surviving line of col. ii (39) is also a trimeter. Because the metre is epodic, the number of intervening lines must be odd. Not twelve, therefore, but, probably, eleven or thirteen. The latter is Pfeiffer’s choice (his lines 26–38), but since, on the papyrus, 39 is a little above 13, the lower number seems more likely. (Not worth pressing, though, because the whole hypothesis is so doubtful.)

<sup>16</sup> Pfeiffer II 118: “scil. si in P. Oxy. 661 hic *Iambus* ab initio columnae I incipit; id autem omnino incertum est”.

## 5

# *Iambus V*

*Iambus V* is the first epode in this Book of Iambi. In topic and tone, however, it is closer to the preceding choliambic 'diatribes' than to the following epodes: it continues the indirect attack of *Iambus IV*. Even the metre (chol + dim) looks back to the scazons of I–IV, and sets V against VI and VII (both trim + ith). *Iambus V* seems designed to articulate a transition from one part of the collection to another.<sup>1</sup>

An epode among Iambi is not surprising.<sup>2</sup> Both Archilochus and Hipponax used epodic forms,<sup>3</sup> and both provide examples of trim + dim.<sup>4</sup> The combination chol + dim is not attested before Callimachus.<sup>5</sup> Did he invent it? Or should one postulate a precursor? Choliambic epodes are very rare, and the metre of *Iambus V* has generally been regarded as Callimachus' experiment.<sup>6</sup> The case was strengthened by the discovery of his model: Hipponax fr. 118 West. The metre of this poem is trim + dim. No need, then, to look for an exact precedent. By turning Hipponax' trimeter into a scazon, Callimachus is outlimping the father of the limping line.<sup>7</sup>

The epodic couplet lends itself to particular effects. Long

<sup>1</sup> Dawson 62; Clayman 29.

<sup>2</sup> However, no example of an epode called *ἰαμβος* before the implicit testimony of Callimachus' collection, and Horace's references to his (West [1974] 22).

<sup>3</sup> Epodic metres: West (1982) 43f; 150 (Callimachus); 175f; cf. *IEG* I p. 1. Snell (1982) 39–43 (3rd edn. 1962, 31–4); Korzeniewski (1968) 123–8; Kannicht, *Gnomon* 45, 1973, 122f.

<sup>4</sup> Archil. frs. 172–81 W.; Hippon. fr. 118 W.; popular with later poets.

<sup>5</sup> After Callimachus, only *AP* VII 706 = D.L. VII 184 (a satirical poem on the death of Chrysippus), and Mart. I 61; cf. D.L. II 110 for chol + hem (again, sarcastic).

<sup>6</sup> Pfeiffer (1933) 268: "Die Kombination des hinkenden iambischen Trimeters mit dem reinen iambischen Dimeter hat etwas Künstliches, das eher hellenistisch als archaisch erscheint." Cf. Dawson 62, 59; Howald–Staiger 341; Kassel (1958a) 236: "künstliche Weiterbildung des epodischen Schemas".

<sup>7</sup> Bühler (1964) 228; 237.

and short lines alternate, and invite the creation of short, self-contained units, pointed and epigrammatic. Much of the craftsmanship lies in balancing sentence and verse, in the art of enjambement.<sup>8</sup> Not much survives of Callimachus' epodes, but the ruins still bear the stamp of supreme ease and consummate skill.

Each *Iambus* creates its own situation. *Iambus* V, too, presents a new *Gesprächsform*, a new constellation of characters and attitudes. This is a poem of vituperation, but vituperation ἐν ᾗθει εὐνοίας. What does that mean? I shall take the *Diegesis* for my starting-point (*Dieg.* VII 20–4):

Γραμματο[δ]ιδάσκαλ[ο]ν, ὄνομα Ἀπολλώνιον, οἱ δὲ Κλέωνά τινα, ἱαμβίζει  
ὥς | τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς καταισχύνοντα, ἐν ᾗθει εὐνοίας ἀπαγ[ο]ρεύων  
† τουτῶ ἰδρανμηαλλῶ.

In 20, the papyrus has λ[.]ν. Kapsomenos takes the genitive with ὄνομα ('persona').<sup>9</sup> This is tempting, but has to be resisted: what is being debated is the teacher's name (20f). The alternative shows that it was not mentioned in the poem, and that it was subject of scholarly discussion.<sup>10</sup>

For the teacher's doings, καταισχύνω (22f; in the sense of ἀτιμάζω, ὑβρίζω) is the *vox propria*.<sup>11</sup> Who is the object of his advances? Does τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς (22) refer to the teacher's pupils (he is the subject of καταισχύνοντα 22f),<sup>12</sup> or to those of Callimachus the speaker (the subject of ἱαμβίζει 21)?<sup>13</sup> The

<sup>8</sup> Bühler (1964) 244: "wie er den Vers mit Worten füllt".

<sup>9</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; Gallavotti 46; 82.

<sup>10</sup> Dawson 63; Bühler (1964) 238; Meillier (1979) 19. Puelma thinks that the names are the teacher's and his pupil's (264,1). Cameron suspects that "the Apollonius named in the poem was thought to conceal a real-life schoolmaster called Cleon", and regards the notice in the *Diegesis* as "an informed early guess" (229). Is it relevant that both an Apollonius and a Cleon were writers of *Argonautica*? Cameron 296; 342; D'Alessio 614,90; *Suppl.Hell.* 339A (with Campbell, *CR* 33, 1983, 315, and Hutchinson 86,2). A. S. Hollis suggests that the presence of an 'Apollonius' here and in the ascription of *AP* XI 275 = A.R. fr. 13 Powell (*Coll.Alex.* p. 8) could have reflected, or helped to create, the notion of a quarrel between Callimachus and Apollonius.

<sup>11</sup> Stroux (1934) 317. See Lys. 1, 49; D. 45, 79; esp. Aeschin. 1, e.g. 9ff, and *passim*; cf. the teacher in Luc. *DMeretr.* 10. Dover (1978) 34–9 on ὑβρις, ὑβρίζω, and (1974) 207,5; Clayman 30.

<sup>12</sup> Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 239,4.

<sup>13</sup> Lavagnini (1936) 400.

question is important for the nature of the speaker's involvement, his motives and character. Is Callimachus representing himself as a fellow schoolmaster and colleague of his addressee?<sup>14</sup> Has he a personal interest in those whom he appears to be defending against his colleague's abuse? The *Diegesis* provides no answer.<sup>15</sup>

Similar importance attaches to the phrase *τουτῷ δρᾶνμηαλλω* (23f). Stroux, Coppola, and Gallavotti write *ἀπαγο[ο]ρεύων τούτῳ, δρᾶν μὴ ἄλλω*, 'forbidding him (*ἀπαγορεύων τούτῳ*) to do it with someone else (*δρᾶν μὴ ἄλλω*)' (i.e. a second time, again).<sup>16</sup> Good syntax (*ἀπαγορεύω* with infinitive and *μὴ*), but strained word-order: *μὴ* should precede *δρᾶν*.

Syntax and word-order are the same in Rostagni's *δρᾶν μὴ ἄλλω(ς)*,<sup>17</sup> and Puelma's *δρᾶν μὴ ἄλλω* (for *ἄλλως*, 'a second time').<sup>18</sup> However, *ἄλλως δρᾶν* should mean 'act differently'. (Dawson considers a solution along the lines of *ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ μηδ' ἄλλως ποίει*.<sup>19</sup>) And the word-order? Puelma thinks the words are quoted from the poem:<sup>20</sup>

Der gewählte euphemistische Ausdruck *δρᾶν* für eine obszöne Handlung (cf. Stroux, *Philol.* 1934, 314ff.), die schwierige Form *ἄλλω*, die sich wohl als sonst nicht bezeugte glossematische Analogiebildung [*οὔτῳ(ς)*—*ἄλλω(ς)*] in der Bedeutung "noch einmal, ein zweites

<sup>14</sup> *Suda* κ 227,19f Adler = T 1,7f (Pfeiffer II xcν) *γράμματα ἐδίδασκεν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, κωμυδρίῳ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας*; Cameron 5f; 226. Cf. Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 239; Herter (1937) 165; Dawson 57; Fraser II 463f, 15.

<sup>15</sup> [From Juv. 10,224 onwards (*quot discipulos inclinet Hamillus*—cf. *κάμψης* 27) such conduct by schoolmasters towards their pupils has been so well established in both literature and life that the presumption for it here could be overturned only by strong grammatical evidence that in such a construction *ἴδιος* was commonly the indirect rather than the direct reflexive, and that had Apollonius/Cleon's pupils been meant, *τοὺς μαθητάς* alone would have been used. L.A.H.-S.] Puelma 257f,3 is unclear; Dawson 63, and Clayman 30,46 leave the question open. Cameron 229,196: "lines 3 [4?] and 22 [?] surely exclude the possibility that Callimachus was a teacher too". In VII 23, the papyrus has *ἐνηθεῖς*.

<sup>16</sup> Gallavotti translates: "lo esorta a non farlo con nessuno più" (82). Dawson puts *μηαλλω* between cruces (56), and translates: "bidding him . . . treat no others thus (?)" (57). Cf. Puelma 217,2; 259.

<sup>17</sup> Rostagni (1934) 301f.

<sup>18</sup> Puelma 217,2.

<sup>19</sup> Dawson 57; e.g. Pl. *R.* I 328A9f *ἀλλὰ μένετε καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποιεῖτε*; *Smp.* 173E5 *μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης, ἀλλὰ διήγησαι*.

<sup>20</sup> Puelma 217,2.

Mal" verstehen läßt, sowie die gewählte Wortstellung  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu \mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  statt  $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega \delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$  müssen vermuten lassen, daß der Dieget hier den Dichter zitiert.

The link with  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\nu\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\psi\eta\varsigma$  (27) is attractive,<sup>21</sup> but there are difficulties:  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$  is colloquial;  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  for  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$  is not attested; the synecphonesis  $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  is not impossible, but unwanted.<sup>22</sup> Puelma's defence does not convince.

Next, one can try to take  $\mu\eta$ , not with  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$ , but with  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ . Infinitive without  $\mu\eta$  after  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  is found in the *Diegeses*,<sup>23</sup> and the resulting opposition  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega \dots \mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  looks promising. What could it mean? 'Forbidding *him*  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$ , not anyone else' seems nonsensical, and  $\mu\eta$  (instead of  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ ) is odd.

One could, then, take  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ , not with  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$ , but with  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$  (*sensu obsceno* =  $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ ).<sup>24</sup> In this case, the only way to make sense of  $\mu\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$  will be something like ( $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ )  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega \delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu \mu\eta\langle\delta\rangle\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  ( $\langle\tau\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\rangle?$ ), the first negative to be understood from the second.<sup>25</sup> Here, the singular  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$  after the plurality of pupils in 22 is awkward.

There is an easier way out. For  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega$ , write  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$ ,<sup>26</sup> for  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$  (Smiley):  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ .<sup>27</sup> Even in common words, confusion of quantities, and of single and double consonants, is so frequent that the changes hardly amount to more than *Deutung der Überlieferung*.

If this text is accepted, it states the speaker's (alleged) motif for giving advice. Genuine altruism, or sly pretence?<sup>28</sup>  $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$

<sup>21</sup> Puelma 259. Quotations in *Dieg.* (apart from first lines): VI 19 (fr. 191,77); 20f?; VII 16f (fr. 194,102f). Cf. VIII 2 (fr. 197,1), and 14 (fr. 197,46/49); 36f, and 39f (fr. 199); IX 13f, 14, 15, 21f, and 23 (fr. 201). Below, Ch. 8 n. 88.

<sup>22</sup> For  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$ , see below, n. 24. For synecphonesis with  $\mu\eta$ , fr. 203,14 = 66  $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\theta\omega\varsigma$ ; Hippon. fr. 39,2 W.  $\mu\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\pi\epsilon\mu\psi\eta\varsigma$ . Cf. Cunningham on Herod., p. 213 (3); West (1982) 161.

<sup>23</sup> Pfeiffer (apparatus) quotes *Dieg.* VI 5  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\ \phi\theta\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ .

<sup>24</sup> Stroux (1934) 317 refers to Aeschin. 1, 74; 124; and *passim*. Cf. Archil. fr. 119 W., and Petr. 87 (*facere*). Dawson 57; Clayman 30,49; Dover (1978) 140,7; Henderson (1975) 184; Adams (1982) 203f. Vitelli proposed to emend  $\delta\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$  to  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\hat{\alpha}\nu$  (Stroux 314), but what about the surrounding datives?

<sup>25</sup> Denniston 194.

<sup>26</sup> Fraenkel in marg.; Bühler (1964) 241,4.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. line 22 of the poem; Trypanis 126.

<sup>28</sup> Stroux (1934) 314–19, esp. 318,25, advocates the latter. Cf. Dawson 64; Howald–Staiger 341; Bühler (1964) 240f (with reservations in n. 4).

(24) supports the former—but it may not be sincere; *ἰαμβίζει* (21) implies the latter—but is it more than a stereotype?

And what does *ἐν ᾗθει εὐνοίας* (23) mean? “In the guise of a well-wisher”,<sup>29</sup> veiling his own sinister interests, or truly “in tono di benevolenza”?<sup>30</sup> Normally just ‘in the character of’. Any implication of hypocrisy would come from the context, not the phrase itself.<sup>31</sup> However, it is a small step to ‘in an assumed character’; ‘in the tone of’ easily shades into ‘in the mere tone of’.<sup>32</sup>

The text of the *Diegesis* holds no answer. I shall now look at the poem, and return to the question of the speaker’s attitude at the end of this chapter.

What is the tone of *Iambus* V? The first couplet looks quite revealing (1f):

Ω ξείνε—συμβουλή | γὰρ ἔν τι τῶν ἱρώων—  
ἄκουε τὰπὸ καρδί[ίης,           ]

The address *ὦ ξείνε* signals distanced, but friendly interest.<sup>33</sup> Elsewhere in Callimachus, the word can refer to a ‘hostes’ in the technical sense.<sup>34</sup> It is also used in epigrams to accost the passer-by.<sup>35</sup> Requests addressed to strangers in epigrams like 49 Pf., or the famous *ὦ ξείν’ ἀγγέλλειν*,<sup>36</sup> require courteous formality. A similar blend of correctness with the confidentiality of

<sup>29</sup> Dawson 57; Trypanis 126. Howald–Staiger 341: “‘unter dem Mantel des Wohlwollens’”. Cf. Stroux (1934) 315; 318, esp. n. 1. He compares Sch. E. *Hec.* 26, *Or.* 750 (Schwartz II 314, *index analyticus* s.v. *ἐν ᾗθει*).

<sup>30</sup> Gallavotti 82. Cf. Plu. *Mor.* 73 E *ἐν ᾗθει καὶ μετ’ εὐνοίας*.

<sup>31</sup> Bühler (1964) 240f, 4: “Dagegen heißt *ἐν ᾗθει εὐνοίας* zunächst nur ‘in der Haltung des Wohlwollens’. Daß diese Haltung nur zum Schein angenommen ist, kann lediglich aus dem Zusammenhang hervorgehen, nicht aus den Worten selbst.”

<sup>32</sup> D.L. VI 10 *ἐν ᾗθει* ‘ironically’; used to describe various gradations of affectation, pretence, deceit in Sch. II.: cf. index III (*Sermo grammaticus*) of Erbse’s edition s.v. *ᾗθος* (vol. VI p. 361).

<sup>33</sup> Dawson 57 “my friend”, Trypanis 129 “friend”; LSJ III.1b “as a term of address to any *stranger*”. Cf. Dickey (1996) 146–9; Gow on Theoc. 5,66: “Ω ξείνε is the regular address to one coming from outside the speaker’s own setting, whether friend or stranger.”

<sup>34</sup> *Epigr.* 2,4; fr. 556; perhaps also fr. 392 (see Pfeiffer).

<sup>35</sup> *Epigr.* 49,1; for *Epigr.* 58,1, see Gow–Page on *HE* 1265f.

<sup>36</sup> Hdt. VII 228,2. Cf. Rumpel’s *Lexicon Theocriteum*; Bühler (1964) 252f. Friendliness may, of course, be feigned.

self-interest marks Aphrodite's promise to him who will bring Eros back to her: . . . ὁ μανύσας γέρας ἔξει. | μισθός τοι τὸ φίλημα τὸ Κύπριδος· ἦν δ' ἀγάγῃς νιν, | οὐ γυμνὸν τὸ φίλημα, τὸ δ', ὦ ξένε, καὶ πλέον ἔξεις.<sup>37</sup> There may be an interesting consequence: if Gow and Page are right in stating that this is "the regular address to one coming from outside the speaker's own setting", the speaker will not be the teacher's colleague.

More altruism in the proverb συμβουλή γὰρ ἔν τι τῶν ἱρώων:<sup>38</sup> α παροιμία ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖν καθαρῶς συμβουλεύειν.<sup>39</sup> It is the counsellor's 'holy duty' to be candid. The proverb explains why the addressee can and should listen.<sup>40</sup> Protestations of sincerity—and, of course, a blank cheque for speaking one's own mind.

Vocative and γάρ-parenthesis prepare for the imperative in the dimeter: ἄκουε τὰπὸ καρδ[ίης]. The opening trimeter builds up to the main clause, and the tension is resolved in the epodic line. Tension and relaxation are sharply articulated: the dimeter is self-contained both in syntax and in thought. The main clause introduces another proverb.

The first epodic couplet provides a simple and effective example of the new metre. Later, relations of sentence and verse will become more complicated. Here, studied simplicity enhances the epigrammatic character of the incipit. Again, the opening line(s) establish the poem's imaginary situation, and set its tone with clarity and precision. The second proverb, too, stresses the speaker's selfless frankness.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Mosch. 1,3–5.

<sup>38</sup> Pfeiffer; Ar. fr. 32 K.–A.; [Pl.] *Ep.* 5, 321 C 4f: δίκαιος δ' εἰμὶ καὶ σοὶ *ξενικὴν* καὶ *ἱερὰν* συμβουλήν λεγομένην συμβουλεύειν (with Novotný [1930] 120f); X. *An.* V 6,4 (Smiley, *JHS* 70, 1950, 105); Luc. *Ind.* 25 (to someone whose reputation is ruined by πόρνοι), and *Rh.Pr.* 1; Jul. *Ep.* 96, 374 C; Zen. IV 40; Macar. IV 72; Diogenian. II 92. Cf. Stevens (1933) 110f; Stroux (1934) 314f; Dawson 64; Fraser II 1041f,209.

<sup>39</sup> Pfeiffer.

<sup>40</sup> For anticipatory γάρ in parenthesis after a vocative, see Denniston 68f, esp. 69, with 581.

<sup>41</sup> The supplement was made by Roberts. See Pfeiffer; E. *IA* 475; Luc. *JTr.* 19, with scholion: λόγιον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνεπικρύπτως καὶ ἀπερικαλύπτως λεγομένων μηδὲν ὑποβλεπομένου τοῦ λέγοντος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι (v.l. ἔχει) τὸ πρᾶγμα διεξιόντος (63,26–8 Rabe). Diogenian. II 59; Macar. I 65; Apostol. I 100; cf. Dawson 57. Bühler (1964) 238 traces the paroemiographers back to Callimachus, but there is also the instance in Euripides. Cf. Garvie on A. *Ch.* 107 (157); Groeneboom and Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 805; Groeneboom on A. *Th.* 873 (920); Johansen-Whittle on A. *Supp.* 989 (cf. *Pers.* 372); Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 255.

ἐπεὶ σε δαίμων ἄλφα βῆτ[α] ]  
οὐχ ὥς ὀνήϊστον. ] ]  
ἀλλ' οἶον ἄνδρ[α] σὺ ] ..ων...πων 5  
καὶ σ. ] ]  
.] ωκε ] ] ε. η μάζα.  
.] α

The syntactical detail is less clear. The balance of οὐχ ὥς (4)—ἀλλ' οἷον (5) argues against taking ὥς ὁνήϊστον as 'quam optime'. ὁνήϊστον could, then, be neuter ([γέρας) or masc. ([βροτῶν).<sup>44</sup> The former might yield: "by no means best [of life pursuits]| but such as [many] a man [might find would serve]| [to earn] his bread";<sup>45</sup> the latter: "non perché uomo probo, ma come ad uno che . . ." (introducing an insult?).<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For δαίμων 'lot', see *Epigr.* 14,1 Pf. with Gow–Page on *HE* 1241; *Epigr.* 30,3f Pf. with Gow–Page on *HE* 1099f; Gow on *Theoc.* 4,40. 'Teacher' as insult: Cameron 5f; Fraenkel (1957) 359; Booth 1981; *Com. adesp.* fr. 20 Kock (III 410) = Zen.Ath. I 43 (*PCG* VIII 506 K.–A.) ἦτοι τέθνηκεν ἢ διδάσκει γράμματα (Zen. IV 17; Diogenian. V 9; Apostol. VIII 73; Plu. *Nic.* 29; D.S. XIII 33).

<sup>††</sup> The last trace in 4 is inconclusive.

<sup>46</sup> Gallavotti 82.

<sup>47</sup> Snell, *Gnomon* 15, 1939, 540.



“Nachdem einmal das Schicksal dich zum Beruf des Alphabetlehrers ausersah, der zwar für die ⟨Jungen⟩ nicht gerade dasersprießlichste ist, aber immerhin ein Mann, ⟨der ihnen etwas Brauchbares beibringen kann⟩, . . .”.<sup>48</sup> This will not do: οἶον should refer back to something like γέρας (ἀλλ’ οἶον ἀνδρ[ι]ς ἐν[μυφέρειν ?]); or it should be regarded as a case of *attractio relativi* (≈ ἀλλὰ τοῖον ἀνδρα ὅς . . .); or it could be taken adverbially: ἀλλ’ οἶον (≈ ἄτε) ἀνδρα (γενόμενον) . . .<sup>49</sup> And can one use *ὀνήϊστος de personis*?<sup>50</sup>

καί (6) may then introduce either a second part of the ἀλλ’-οἶον-clause, or a second verb after ἐπεί (3). The series of sub-clauses will not have continued in 7 (‘and since this is the way you earn your bread’); punctuation at the end of the line suggests that it contained the main clause.

Much remains uncertain. ] . ε . ἡ μάζα, or μεμαγ]μένη (Parsons)?<sup>51</sup> ἐ]δωκε[, or e.g. ὁ]λῶ κε[ (Parsons)? μάζα is a suitable word for minimal subsistence,<sup>52</sup> and could be the subject of ἔδωκε.<sup>53</sup> Alternatively, the latter may still be part of (one of) the sub-clauses, its subject could still be δαίμων (3), and this might be the first enjambement. Too much is lost in 5–8. There may be a link with the end of *Iambus* III,<sup>54</sup> but what would it mean? Do the two pederastic poems trace a development: from the secretive complaints of III to the jealous advice of V?

The next lines are very fragmentary,<sup>55</sup> but after 10, matters improve (9–22):

] . ιλεοχρη..  
]ε . ἐργάτην·  
]μνειν κῆξ ὄρευσ ἄγειν ὕλην

10

<sup>48</sup> Puelma 254; in n. 3, he considers ἐν[μυφέροντα (5).

<sup>49</sup> K.–G. II 97; 102 (with or without participle). οἶον adv. frr. 216; 555 (from the *Iambi*?); *Ap.* 1; οἶα adv. frr. 41,2; 194,81, and 101; *Ap.* 2; *Del.* 11; *Lav.Pall.* 24; *Cer.* 89.

<sup>50</sup> Uncertain at Phoen. fr. 4,2 P.; *Iambus* I 67. [But why should Callimachus say, as a throwaway remark, not in such a context as *Iambus* III, that it was not *ὀνήϊστος* for boys to learn their letters? L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Archil. fr. 2,1 W.

<sup>52</sup> Bühler on Zen.Ath. II 34 (vol. IV p. 268); above, Ch. 3 n. 95.

<sup>53</sup> Like αἰπύη in *Suppl.Hell.* 239,9.

<sup>54</sup> Puelma 255,2 (but cf. 257,2); Dawson 57.

<sup>55</sup> The break in 8 occurs at the same point as in 7. In 9 δυσφ]ιλὲς χρήμα Vitelli.

] ..ιμαινε·πάϊς·  
 ] ..ετηρ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐμβαίνειν  
 ] ..λα φρονέων  
 ] ..[.]...[.]...[.]ων ἐπαυρήσεις 15  
 ] ..παθευμεν ...  
 ]ν ἀλγέων μηδὲ γούνατα κλίνων  
 ]ν ἄσσα τοι λ[έγ]ω·  
 ] ..βουν· ....νατω ποδὶ τρέψῃ  
 ] κεραυνώσῃ[.]... 20  
 ] ..ον μαστὸ[ν]...[.]κεινωθῇ  
 ὥς δ' ἄν τε θωϊῇ λάβοι·

Complete words and phrases, but their interpretation poses special problems: by the end of the passage, the speaker has turned to allegory. What does it mean? And where does it begin?

Is 7 to be taken literally, or is it an allegorical main clause after the build-up of 3–6?<sup>56</sup> What about 10f?<sup>57</sup> Did these lines compare the teacher's lot to other professions?<sup>58</sup> Is the speaker drifting into proverbial imagery?

The two couplets 9f and 11f both carry punctuation at the end of the dimeter (10; 12). Does the *πάϊς* (12) provide a subject for the sentence beginning in 11? ἐ]πρίμαινες (Norsa–Vitelli) could belong to a sub-clause: 'the boy whom you tended, cherished'<sup>59</sup>—straightforward in a pederastic poem. Or is there a connection with ὄρος in 11: 'you might be bringing wood from the hill where as a boy you watched the flocks'? But what then?

<sup>56</sup> Pfeiffer on 22: "ὥς . . . λάβοι seriem minarum, dissimulatarum sane (inde ab v. 7?) concludere videtur, deinde admonitiones (κοίμησον, ἔχε etc.) sequuntur".

<sup>57</sup> ἐργάτην is superior to ἐργάτην (Pfeiffer's apparatus): ν is preceded by the foot of an upright with a hook to the right which is in this hand typical of η (ι has a hook to the left). Not, therefore, *de Musa operaria* (fr. 222; Pi. I. 2,6). Cf. fr. 202,43.

<sup>58</sup> Dawson 57: "[ 'Tis better than a] hired [man's life,] | [who] hews and hauls wood from the mountain side". Cf. Howald–Staiger 343; D'Alessio 615,96. On 11, see Pfeiffer's apparatus, and cf. Norden on Verg. *A.* VI 179ff; Simon. fr. eleg. 11,1–3 W. (with Lobel, *POxy.* XXII, p. 76 on fr. 5; I. Rutherford, *Arethusa* 29, 1996, 178; differently Obbink, *ibid.* 194); E. *HF* 240–2; Q.S. V 618; X 461f; XII 122–34. No gain, it seems, in looking for a contrast between agriculture and tree-cutting (*Suppl.Hell.* 276).

<sup>59</sup> Or *πάϊς* as *nom. pro voc.*? ἐ]πρίμαινεν looks also possible. Cf. Pfeiffer's apparatus; Theoc. 11,80 with Gow; E. *Hipp.* 153 with Barrett.

And how to supply the first foot? Imagery without discernible context continues in 13; “[better than] going on shipboard overseas” is Dawson’s guess.<sup>60</sup> For lines 14–18, he gives the following reconstruction:<sup>61</sup>

[But if you keep those] evil thoughts  
[which now you entertain,] you will endure  
[such] sufferings [as you cannot hope]  
[to flee,] not even if you kneel to beg.  
[Hear] what I have to say to you.

ἐπαυρήσεις (15)—with the depending genitive (or a participle?) hidden in the preceding ]ων—could amount to a promise of good, or a threat of bad things.<sup>62</sup> The next two lines seem to talk of trouble and suffering. ἀλγέων (17) enters Pfeiffer’s index as a genitive. It can also be a participle—more likely, if μηδέ looks back to a preceding negative, e.g. *ἐν μηδέ]ν ἀλγέων μηδέ γούνατα κλίνων*.<sup>63</sup> Two negatives with two participles, presumably going with the imperative required in 18 (μηδέ!):<sup>64</sup> “(ohne daß du dich im geringsten) zu grämen und zu ängstigen brauchst, | vernimm, was ich dir sage: . . .”. γόνυ κλίνω (= κάμπτω), ‘to bend one’s knee in submission’? Without another negative, a contrast of ‘suffering, but not giving in’? And γόνυ κλίνω, then, ‘to sit down in exhaustion’?<sup>65</sup>

A turning-point is reached with 18: ἄκουσον ἄλλα τοι λ[έγ]ω seems a natural supplement.<sup>66</sup> Direct exhortation marks the end of a section (cf. 30–4). It is not clear how we get there, but we have what follows. The direct address prepares the way for a string of similes and comparisons, capped by ὥς in 22.

<sup>60</sup> Dawson 59, but cf. Puelma 261,3. If these are all poor trades, more likely a fisherman than a sailor? The first trace is the right foot of an oblique or horizontal: ]ἄςτηρ ἐς θ.? An erotic ‘star’? (For ἄςτηρ as erotic endearment, see *AP* VII 669; or is it a proper name? Cf. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* III 2,22f.) γ]ἄςτηρ (D’Alessio)? Or -τήρες?

<sup>61</sup> Dawson 59. In 14 α]λλα, μ]αλα Norsa–Vitelli; οὐ κ]αλὰ Dawson 58; ]ἄλλα? Parsons.

<sup>62</sup> Rengakos (1994) 83. Cf. Herod. 3,2 (with Headlam and Cunningham); 7,26.

<sup>63</sup> Puelma 258.

<sup>64</sup> Puelma 262.

<sup>65</sup> As in *A. Pr.* 396. Puelma compares “die homerische Floskel γούνατα λύνειν, ὑπολύνεσθαι, wobei die Knie als Sitz der Kraft gedacht werden” (262,1).

<sup>66</sup> Puelma 258; Gallavotti. δέξαι νυ]ν Vitelli. Cf. *Pi.* fr. 105,1 S.–M.; *Archil.* fr. 109 W.; above, *Ch.* 1 n. 52.

Most of the detail of these lines (19–21) is lost or incomprehensible. Images of danger and destruction (19; 20; 21?) build up to the threat in 22. Can one establish the grammatical subject(s)? After second person in 15 and imperative in 18, it is tempting to take *τρέψη* and *κεραυνώση* as 2nd pers. sg. fut. ind. mid. or aor. subj. However, the middle of *κεραυνόω* is not attested.<sup>67</sup> *κεραυνώση* must be 3rd pers. sg. aor. subj. act., probably with a direct object. The same will then be true for *τρέψη*. Both verbs seem to refer to destruction (perhaps punishment), and in both cases, the subject may have been an avenging deity.<sup>68</sup>

In 21, *ἐ]κεινώθη/]κεινωθή* is odd.<sup>69</sup> Puelma, following Norsa–Vitelli, tries *ἤδη γε κεῖ] τὸν μαστὸν [ἀμπέ]χει νώθη*.<sup>70</sup> The word *νώθη* (for *νώθεια*, stupor) is not attested.<sup>71</sup>

Finally, *ὥς* (22) pulls the threads together. It introduces the main clause,<sup>72</sup> summing up the sequence of images, comparisons, analogies, and allegories in 19–21.<sup>73</sup> Cautious understatement in the potential suits the self-conscious riddling of the following lines.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Pace Puelma 258 (cf. 259,1), who expects a *μή* in 19 and supplies *καί κυγ]κεραυνώση[ι φρένας* in 20. He compares Archil. fr. 120,2 W. *οἶνω κυγκεραυνωθείς φρένας*, but that does not cover the middle, [which is hardly conceivable in any of its proper senses for this verb; on the other hand middle with passive sense is unattractive for *τρέψη*. L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>68</sup> 19 -*νατω* *ποδί* or *τῷ ποδί*? Cf. LSJ *πούς* I.2: emphatically with verbs denoting ‘to trample’ or ‘tread upon’; II. XV 361–6.

<sup>69</sup> Pfeiffer compares fr. 26,14 (see Massimilla on fr. 30,14). *]τὸν μαστὸ[ν]* looks possible.

<sup>70</sup> Puelma 258; cf. his translation (259) of 19–22 (taking the verbs in 19 and 20 as 2nd pers. sg., and *κεραυνώση* as passive!): “(paß auf, daß du nicht) in Taumel geratest | (und deiner Sinne) benommen werdest; | (denn schon umfängt) Umnachtung deine Brust: | dies aber könnte deine Strafe sein.” Pace Pfeiffer (apparatus), I do not think that one can exclude *]χ*.

<sup>71</sup> Norsa–Vitelli, *A&R* 35, 1933, 12; Puelma 259,1. Possible, but what came before it? For the accent: Chandler 25.

<sup>72</sup> Hence the accent. *δέ* is apodotic (Denniston 179f)—unless one were to read *δᾶν* < *δῆ ᾶν* (Pfeiffer’s apparatus: S. *El.* 314; Denniston 228).

<sup>73</sup> For mood and tense, cf. e.g. II. II 147 *ὥς δ’ ὅτε κινήσῃ κτλ.*

<sup>74</sup> *θωή* is glossed *ζημία* in the margin (cf. Pfeiffer); LSJ (with *Rev. Suppl.*) *θωή*, *ἐπιθώϊος* (= Meiggs–Lewis no. 8C6f). The line has been ascribed to Archilochus (fr. 329 *spurium* W.): see Pfeiffer’s note, and (1933) 268f; bibliography in Herter (1937) 158f, and Lehnus. Cf. Dawson 62; Dover, *CR* 10, 1960, 11 (= [1987] 123). Bossi (1990) 259f thinks that Callimachus is quoting Archilochus.

Next, the luxury of a dozen lines of continuous text. The lower part of *PSI* 1216 i is more or less complete, and 23–9 survive also—in various degrees of garbled decurtation and paraphrase—as an example of ἀλληγορία in the rhetorical and grammatical writers (23–9):<sup>75</sup>

τὸ πῦρ δὲ τῶνέκαυσε, ἄχρις οὐ πολλῇ  
 πρόσω κεχώρηκεν φλογί,  
 ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζει κῆπι τὴν τέφρην οἱ[χ]νεῖ, 25  
 κοίμῃσιν. ἔσχε δὲ δρόμον  
 μαργῶντας ἵππους μηδὲ δευτέρην κάμψης,  
 μή τοι περὶ νύσσει δίφρον  
 ἄξωσιν, ἐκ δὲ κύμβαχος κυβιστήσης.

The main difficulties of these lines are, despite their completeness, syntactical. The style becomes contorted, and suitably oracular. The metre contrasts sharply with the first part of the poem: until 22, the regular pace of self-contained epodic couplets (punctuation in 10; 12; 18; 22); then, emphatic enjambements create an agitated flow.

When Pfeiffer first discussed these lines, he gave the following syntactical analysis:<sup>76</sup>

Die oben angeführten Zitate aus rhetorischen Schriften . . . lesen z.T. V.4 ερος οὐ oder ἔως οὐ; das würde nicht auf ἄχρις εἶναι, sondern auf ἄχρις εἶναι führen, "das Feuer, das du angefacht hast, bis es mit mächtiger Flamme weiter um sich gegriffen hat, wohlan, bring es zum Stillstand (ἀτρεμίζει mit der 1. Hand und transitiv wie Theogn. 303), und wenn es zu Asche (κηπι [sic] = καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ ?) entschwindet, lösche es aus!" Hart und kaum dem Sinn des Ganzen entsprechend, ἄχρις οὐ π. πρόσω (cf. Lucian. Amor. 12 ἄχρις πόρρω und öfter μέχρι πόρρω)—ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζει (intr.) κῆπι (= καὶ ἐπὶ) τ. τ. ο. : "das Feuer . . . hat nicht weiter um sich gegriffen, sondern beruhigt sich und entschwindet zu Asche; lösche es aus!"

He doubted whether ἄχρις οὐ could go with πρόσω as part of the main clause, and preferred to have ἄχρις εἶναι introduce a subclause depending on ἀνέκαυσε. The main clause, then, is ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζει (following the papyrus *before* correction) with τὸ πῦρ as its object; κῆπι introduces a conditional protasis to κοίμῃσιν. This was accepted by Gallavotti:<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> References in Pfeiffer.

<sup>76</sup> Pfeiffer (1933) 271,15 (cf. his apparatus; Herter [1937] 160).

<sup>77</sup> Gallavotti 82.

Ma smorza [ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζε] il fuoco, che hai fatto accendere fino a che [ἄχρις ἐὺ] con molta fiamma ha dilagato, e se [καὶ εἰ] in cenere si consuma, ora spengilo.

It is not clear whether the papyrus had ἀχρίσειν or ἀχρίσου. Besides, I see four objections to this interpretation:

(i) ἀτρεμίζω (Ionic) is not transitive; Theognis 303 is no exception.<sup>78</sup>

(ii) One should follow the papyrus after correction.

(iii) ἀλλά with imperative can hardly be postponed so far: after its object, a relative, and a temporal sub-clause.<sup>79</sup>

(iv) κῆπι for καὶ εἰ ἐπι is more appropriate to Herodas than to Callimachus.

Puelma reads ἄχρι σεῦ, ἀτρεμίζει, κῆπι, and gives this translation:<sup>80</sup>

Was aber das Feuer angeht, das du entfachtest (sc. im Herzen des παῖς), so hat es dir wohl / in mächtiger Flamme entgegengelodert, / doch hat es sich (wieder) gelegt und ist daran, völlig zur Neige zu gehen ("zu Asche zu werden").

Here, ἄχρι σεῦ 'dir entgegen' seems impossible. And what contrast or opposition is ἀλλά meant to indicate?

Terzaghi offers the following explanation:<sup>81</sup>

Callimaco dice al maestro: "quel fuoco, che tu accendesti (o facesti accendere) finchè dilagò con molta fiamma". A questo punto immagina che il maestro stesso faccia un gesto di protesta, come per assicurare che o non è vero, o si tratta di cosa passata; e Callimaco dal canto suo fa un gesto per calmarlo, e gli dice: "sta' buono, sta' fermo, tranquillizzati: anche se ora quel fuoco è ridotto in cenere", quasi volesse fargli capire: "va bene, tu dici che non è vero, e io non voglio insistere; però" e qui un altro gesto di ironica incredulità "facciamo conto che ci sia stato e ormai non ci sia più, che sia un focherello sotto la cenere; appunto, cerca di smorzarlo e di spengerlo del tutto".

Terzaghi returns to reading ἄχρις ἐὺ, ἀτρεμίζε, and καὶ εἰ. After φλογί, he assumes, the addressee interrupts to protest. The

<sup>78</sup> οὐ χρὴ κυγχλίζειν ἀγαθὸν βίον, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμίζειν, | τὸν δὲ κακὸν κινεῖν ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὀρθὰ βάλῃς.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Denniston 13–15 (position not covered by 22f).

<sup>80</sup> Puelma 261; cf. 258. The fire is the lover's, not "im Herzen des παῖς" (as Puelma's own examples show: 261,2).

<sup>81</sup> Terzaghi (1951) 174f.

speaker stops and continues with anacoluthon: ἀλλ' ἀτρέμιζε, 'calm down, even if . . .'. Terzaghi follows the papyrus before correction. His interpretation is too complicated to carry conviction.<sup>82</sup> Where are the signals to direct the reader?

In the end, the most attractive interpretation is the one put forward in Pfeiffer's note:

23 sqq. ita sunt interpretandi: 'ignem . . ., quamdiu non profecit, sed quietus manet . . ., exstingue'.<sup>83</sup>

Fraser objects that "the text of lines 23ff. is very uncertain, and the sense extracted by Pf. . . . is not very satisfactory, for it implies that the fire has hardly spread".<sup>84</sup> Perhaps not that it has 'hardly spread', but that it is not yet blazing away. The speaker is not belittling the danger, but emphasizing the chance to control it—an obvious strategy. 'This was just a beginning, you can still stop: do not take the second turn', i.e. 'stop in mid-course, while you still can: do not give in again' (27).<sup>85</sup>

These lines should not be read as a meticulous analysis of the addressee's situation, but as a series of warning images with erotic overtones.<sup>86</sup> For the 'fires of love', this hardly needs proving<sup>87</sup>—although even here, critics have claimed to detect poetological allegory.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Fraser II 1041,206: "fanciful".

<sup>83</sup> Followed by Dawson 59; Howald-Staiger 342f; Trypanis 129; D'Alessio 616f.

<sup>84</sup> Fraser II 1041,206.

<sup>85</sup> D'Alessio 617,99 compares the scholion on Alc. fr. 74 L.-P. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* I 18,85 *et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires*; Otto (1890) 311; Handel's *Agrippina* II 18.

<sup>86</sup> Herter (1937) 159; D'Alessio 617,98.

<sup>87</sup> Pfeiffer; *Epigr.* 44,2 (with Gow-Page on *HE* 1082). Puelma 261,1 and 2: *AP* XII 79. Dawson 59: *AP* XII 80,3f; 82,1f; 83,5f. Clayman 32,53; Lucil. fr. 74 M.; Hor. *Epod.* 11,4. Handel's *Agrippina* I 17; III 11; his *Serse* I 11; III 3. οἱ[χ]νεῖ (25) is odd (if correct). A. S. Hollis takes it in the sense 'is gone' (like οἴχομαι: LSJ II), 'has gone to ash', 'has died away'. He compares Ov. *Rem.* 82, and esp. 117–20: *aut nova, si possis, sedare incendia temptes | aut ubi per vires procubuerit suas. | dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori: | difficiles aditus impetus omnis habet.* Cf. the notes of A. A. R. Henderson (also pp. xivf) and P. Pinotti. For *procubuerit* 'has collapsed', Hollis compares Hor. *Carm.* IV 13,28 *dilapsam in cineres facem*. On κοίμησον, see Pfeiffer I 505. Poll. VII 178: καὶ τὸ καταβέσαι τὸν λύχνον, ὅπερ οἱ νῦν, κοιμήσαι {καὶ κατακοιμίσαι} Φρύνιχος εἶρηκεν ἐν Μονοτρόπῳ· ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴν τὸν λύχνον κατακοιμίσῃ (Phryn.Com. fr. 25 K.-A.; cf. Nicophon fr. 15 K.-A. = *Suda* κ 2546 Adler).

<sup>88</sup> Bartoletti (1933). *Contra*: Stroux (1934) 317 (Pasquali, *Pan* III 2, 1935,

The δρόμος-metaphor (26–9), too, has been twisted into a ‘poetologische Wegmetapher’.<sup>89</sup> However, its erotic character is quite clear: μαργάν refers to erotic fury;<sup>90</sup> the ἡνίοχος is a common image for both the lover and the beloved;<sup>91</sup> and Hellenistic epigrams depict amatory exertions as equestrian δρόμοι.<sup>92</sup>

The speaker adopts a riddling posture, but his meaning is obvious. μηδὲ δευτέρην κάμψης hints at one specific act, and its nature is guessed more easily than the following lines seem to admit. Allegory is used to create an impression of bashfulness.<sup>93</sup> Here, its effect is “eine zum Prophetenton passende, ironische Pathetisierung”.<sup>94</sup>

After a series of enjambements, there is a pause at the end of 29, setting off the following lines (30–4):

30

ἀ, μή με ποιήσης γέ[λω.  
 ἐγὼ Βάκις τοι καὶ Cίβυλλα [καὶ] δάφνη  
 καὶ φηγός. ἀλλὰ συμβαλεῦ  
 τῶνιγμα, καὶ μὴ Πιτθέως ἔχε χρεῖν.  
 .....]τι καὶ κωφεῖ λόγος.

319 = [1986] II 952f, at 953); Herter (1937) 159; 165; Dawson 64. On attempts at identifying the teacher, see Rostagni (1934) 301f.

<sup>89</sup> Wimmel (1960) 105.

<sup>90</sup> Above, Ch. 3 n. 94; Puelma 259.

<sup>91</sup> Puelma 259–61; Nisbet–Hubbard, introduction to *Hor. Carm.* II 5, pp. 77–80, esp. 78f. Cf. Henderson (1975) 164f, and the material at Cameron 239–43. The lover: Anacr. fr. 72 P., esp. 4 ἡνίας δ’ ἔχων στρέφοιμί σ’ ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου; Thgn. 1249–52 with Vetta (cf. 1253f; 1255f); the lover shaken off: Thgn. 257–60 (with West [1997] 515); 1097–1100; 1267–70 with Vetta (in a context of other erotic poems). The beloved: Anacr. fr. 15 P.; Ibyc. fr. 6 P.? Eros the charioteer: Ar. *Av.* 1737; Ov. *Tr.* II 385. Plato’s chariot of the soul (Pfeiffer; Stroux [1934] 319,26; Herter [1937] 159; Dawson 64,65; Fraser I 740f; II 1041f,209) may be in the background: the horses embody, not the teacher’s boy-loves, but his own desires.

<sup>92</sup> *AP* V 202, 203, and esp. 55,4 ἤνυσεν ἀκλιnéως τὸν Κύπριδος δόλιχον (with Gow–Page on *HE* 1486); Schrier (1979) 313. *Lucr.* IV 1196; *Prop.* II 33,22; III 10,32; 15,4; Ov. *Ars* II 726–32; *AP* V 275. Cf. Pfeiffer’s note on literary races.

<sup>93</sup> Handbooks list εὐλάβεια, αἰδώς, and αἰσχύνη as reasons for allegory (Pfeiffer on 23–9). Cf. Körte–Händel 103f; Herter (1937) 159.

<sup>94</sup> Howald–Staiger 343. On 26–9, see Bühler (1964) 244; Calais (1974–5). On the prosody of περὶ νύκτῃ (28), see Pfeiffer’s notes here, and on fr. 629 (I 505); West (1974) 114f. On 29, see Pfeiffer, and Rengakos (1992) 36.



This is the end of *PSI* 1216 i. Column ii preserves fragments of the poem's second half. I shall argue below that the end of col. i coincides with a major break, and that a new section started with col. ii (35). The first half of *Iambus* V ends with an urgent appeal.

Again, enjambements hold together the central passage (31–3). 34 is set off as a concluding punchline. But why does 30 stand on its own? The change from veiled admonition to direct appeal occurs in the middle of an epodic couplet. Its effect is that of ἀντιλαβή: the speaker is interrupted by his addressee's laughter. In reply, he changes his tune. The sudden break stresses the urgency of his warnings.

What does 30 mean? That depends partly on the supplement. Pfeiffer (following Norsa–Vitelli) has γέλω: “Ah, make me not a thing to mock!”<sup>95</sup> One could also try γέλων—‘do not make me laugh (sc. at your ruin, if you ignore my advice)’.<sup>96</sup> But the cruel, mocking threat would be unexpected, and what follows shows that this is about the speaker's authority. The addressee, it appears, was laughing and pretending not to understand. On the whole, γέλω(ν) seems easier.

There is another question. ‘Do not make me a laughing-stock’—who is supposed to be laughing? The addressee? Or other people? In Archilochus and in Semonides, γέλως τισίν is ‘a laughing-stock for other people (ἄστοίσι, πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις) to laugh at’.<sup>97</sup> This cannot be what is meant here. The speaker is not worried for himself, but for his addressee; he flaunts his altruistic concern. 30 does not mean ‘do not expose me to other people's laughter’;<sup>98</sup> it means ‘do not laugh at me’.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Dawson 59; cf. Trypanis 129: “Ah! make me not a laughing-stock”; Körte–Händel 103: “O mache mich nicht zum Gespött!”; Howald–Staiger 343: “Ach! mache mich nicht lächerlich.” γέλω is the regular form, but in tragedy, γέλων is also found: Page on *E. Med.* 383 (correcting Wilamowitz on *E. HF* 285).

<sup>96</sup> For the construction, see LSJ ποιέω A.II.1b, and cf. Hippon. fr. 84, 18 W. κλαίειν κελεύων.

<sup>97</sup> Archil. fr. 172, 3f W. νῦν δὲ δὴ πολὺς | ἄστοίσι φαίνεαι γέλως; Semon. fr. 7, 73f W. τοιαύτη γυνή | εἶσιν δι’ ἄστεος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γέλως.

<sup>98</sup> Despite Tib. I 4, 81–4: *heu heu, quam Marathus lento me torret amore! | deficiunt artes deficiuntque doli. | parce, puer, quaeso, ne turpis fabula fiam, | cum mea ridebunt vana magisteria.* Cf. Luck (1969) 99; Bright (1978) 239, 31.

<sup>99</sup> So Gallavotti 82: “Oh, non farti celia di me.”

But can it mean that? There is a parallel in an epigram of Aeschrion: μή με . . . χλεύην τε ποιεῦ καὶ γέλωτα.<sup>100</sup> A passer-by is warned to behave respectfully. The epigram concentrates on the addressee ('do not slander and laugh at me'), not on the reaction of other people ('do not expose me to laughter'). An exact analogy.

However, there is one difference. In Aeschrion, the verb is middle; in Callimachus, active. The middle is correct: 'do not hold me in your own eyes to be ridiculous and laughable'. In the active, γέλωτα ποιεῖν τινα means 'to make someone a laughing-stock—objectively, in the eyes of and before all people'. The difference in meaning between the active and the middle is strictly observed.<sup>101</sup> I therefore propose to write ἀ, μή με ποιήσῃ γέ[λω(ν) in 30.<sup>102</sup> An easy corruption, especially after κυβιστήσης in 29.

If this is correct, the lines reinforce the setting. The text of the poem presupposes the reactions of its addressee: he laughs, and pretends not to understand.<sup>103</sup>

The speaker flaunts an attitude of disinterested sympathy. ἀ, too, contributes to the tone of troubled concern.<sup>104</sup> It expresses

<sup>100</sup> *AP* VII 345,4 = *Suppl.Hell.* 4,4 (quoted by Pfeiffer). Cf. line 9 and *Epigr.* 56,1.

<sup>101</sup> K.-G. I 318f; *LSJ* ποιέω A.III, τίθημι B.I.3. Middle: *Hdt.* III 29,2 ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε, 'you shall not laugh at me'; 38,2 οὐκ ὦν οἶκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεςθαι, 'to make sport of such things'; VII 209,2 ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν κτλ., 'you laughed at me'; *Thgn.* 113 μήποτε τὸν κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἑταῖρον, 'to make him one's friend'. Active: *Thgn.* 123 τοῦτο θεὸς κιβδηλότατον ποίησε βροτοῖσιν; *Sch.* II. XIV 142b (θεὸς δὲ ἐ) κυφλώσειε· τυφλώσειεν, ἐπίσογον ποιήσειε . . . οἱ μὲν κακώσειεν, οἱ δὲ μωμητὸν ποιήσειεν, οἱ δὲ γέλωτα θείη. The active in Callimachus: fr. 194,31 ἀρτεμέας ἐποίησε, 'he healed them'; *Lav.Pall.* 98 ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τοι τέκνον ἔθηκ' ἀλαόν; 121 μάντιν ἐπεὶ θησῶ νιν ἀοίδιμον ἔσσομένοισιν; cf. fr. 59,7. The middle: fr. 75,28 ὦ Κήυξ, ἀλλ' ἦν με θέλῃς συμφράδμονα θέσθαι, 'if you will take me for your counsellor'; *Ών.* 68f θήκαο δ' οἰωνῶν μέγ' ὑπείροχον ἀγγελιώτην | σῶν τεράων; *Dian.* 210 πότνια, σὴν ὁμόθηρον ἐθήκαο; 226f σὲ γὰρ ποιήσατο Νηλεὺς | ἡγεμόνην; cf. fr. 193,29. (In *Cer.* 63f, I should prefer ὦ ἐνὶ δαίτας ποιησῇ to ποιησεῖς; *ZPE* 111, 1996, 26; cf. *LSJ* A.II.5.) *Theoc.* 13,52 is no exception: see Gow's note; cf. 29,18.

<sup>102</sup> *ZPE* 111, 1996, 26; cf. D'Alessio 617,101.

<sup>103</sup> Albert (1988) 82; D'Alessio 617,101.

<sup>104</sup> *LSJ* explain: "exclamation expressing pity, envy, contempt, etc., in Hom. always ἀ δειλέ, ἀ δειλώ, ἀ δειλοί". The Homeric phrase (an inverse μακαρισμός) is a special case of what may be termed ἀ θαυμαστικόν (frequent in

empathy with the feelings of another, be it joy or sorrow. (This, too, argues against γε[λᾶν.) ᾄ is part of the trappings of the rhetoric of altruism.

The tone of urgent entreaty continues in the following list of oracles (31f). Βάκις τε καὶ Κίβυλλα are another proverbial cliché.<sup>105</sup> Here, they are joined by Apollo's laurel and the oak of Dodona. Comparison with prophets and oracles implies a claim to their authority.<sup>106</sup> The speaker adds a final (?) appeal to heed what he says (32f).

The speaker claims the authority of a prophet, and stresses the oracular quality of his warnings.<sup>107</sup> Elsewhere, exhortations 'to understand' direct attention to what follows.<sup>108</sup> Here, 31-4

μακαρισμοί; cf. Norden [1913] 100,1; Richardson on *h.Cer.* 480). ᾄ expressing admiration and surprise occurs already in the Iambicists (*pace* Jebb on B. 3,10): ᾄ μάκαρ ὅτ[ις Hippon. fr. 117,6 W.; ᾄ τάλας ἀνὴρ Semon. fr. 7,76 W; cf. Herod. 7,111 (with Headlam on 17; Cunningham on 117, and on 4,20). Tragedy shows a different use. A. *Ag.* 1087 may be an isolated example of ᾄ θανμαστικόν (see Denniston-Page). Usually, ᾄ in tragedy introduces protest, reproof, warning, prohibition, etc.: S. *OT* 1147; *Ph.* 1300 with Jebb; Dodds on E. *Ba.* 810-12; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 503-4; Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 445; Stevens on E. *Andr.* 1076; cf. Lloyd-Jones-Wilson (1990) 115. (Cf. Archil. fr. 109,1 W. (ᾄ) λιπερνῆτες πολῖται, τὰμὰ δὴ συνίετε | ῥήματα: (ᾄ)?) In *Dian.* 255 ᾄ δειλὸς βασιλέων, ὅσον ἤλιτεν, the tone is reproachful (Bornmann). Fr. inc. 736, and fr. 260,47 = *Suppl.Hell.* 288,47 = *Hec.* fr. 74,6 H. (ᾄ suppl. Lloyd-Jones), remain unclear. In fr. 1,33, ᾄ πάντως contributes to the excited tone of the passage (note the contrived collapse of syntactical control). *Iambus V* 30 shares the excitement (enjambements); but whereas the Utopian character of the former recalls the μακαρισμός, the protest against the addressee's laughter and the urgency of the appeal in *Iambus V* resemble the protests and prohibitions of tragedy. Cf. also Headlam on Herod. 7,17; Cunningham on Herod. 4,20; J. Griffin, *JHS* 106, 1986, 48.

<sup>105</sup> Pfeiffer.

<sup>106</sup> Pfeiffer quotes Ar. *Av.* 716 ἐμὲν δ' ὑμῖν Ἀμμων Δελφοὶ Δωδώνη Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, and 722 ἄρ' οὐ φανερώς ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν ἐμὲν μαντεῖος Ἀπόλλων; D'Alessio 615,97 compares Archil. fr. 25,5 W. τοῦτ' οὐτις ἄλλ[ο]ς μάντις ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἰπέ σοι; *Iamb.adesp.* fr. 35,14 W. ἔξει ἑαυτοῖς βή· ταῦτ' [ἐ]γὼ μαντεύο[μαι] (and 16 with V 22).

<sup>107</sup> Pfeiffer; for Pittheus, cf. his note on fr. 237 (Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 12), and Fraser II 1041,207. [The subject of the oracle submitted to him is not irrelevant. L.A.H.-S.] R. Goosens, *CE* 10, 1935, 375f, compares Pittheus' 'failure' in Plu. *Thes.* 3 and detects irony in Callimachus' words. D'Alessio 617,101 takes 31f as a question (ἐγὼ . . . φηγός;): attractive, but not necessary (Denniston 13-15).

<sup>108</sup> Pi. fr. 105,1 S.-M. κύνες ὅ τοι λέγω at the beginning of the poem (the

look back to the preceding lines, and point to their allegorical nature.<sup>109</sup> The speaker advertises his reticence. Is he just being tactful? Or is he hiding his own agenda?

34 has proved elusive. Pfeiffer renders: “Haec verba mea etiam surdo (percipienda) sunt?”<sup>110</sup> There is no obvious supplement.<sup>111</sup> κωφεῖ could be noun or verb.<sup>112</sup> λόγος could refer to ‘this speech’. Could it also mean that ‘even someone who would not listen/a dullard has enough reason to understand this’ (ἐνec]τι/πάρεc]τι καὶ κωφεῖ λόγoc)? Or better to supply e.g. λύει] τι (‘profits’ Parsons), and take κωφεῖ as a verb: ‘a word can help, a word can harm’, i.e. ‘this may be painful, but it is well meant’?

34 is the last line of *PSI* 1216 i. The rest of the poem is beyond reconstruction (the last line is marked by a coronis; 35–68):

|                 |    |                             |   |
|-----------------|----|-----------------------------|---|
| ἐγὼ[            | 35 | 195 a                       |   |
| τὸν πα[         |    | <i>fines novem versuum</i>  |   |
| μη.οιακα.[      |    | <i>inter v. 35 et v. 53</i> |   |
| συμπαιζ[        |    |                             |   |
| καὶ .νε.[       |    |                             |   |
| ὥc μητ.[        | 40 | ] .αι.εταc[                 |   |
| δέλτοι γάρ[     |    | ] .ι.                       |   |
| εἰ δ', ὦνα ...[ |    | ]δυτοκαιμου[                |   |
| καί τοι δοκέω.[ |    | ]                           |   |
| ἐπαντι ...[     |    | ] ..[.]ε.η[                 | 5 |
| ἄθυμος οὐδ[     | 45 | ]                           |   |

phrase quickly became proverbial: see the *apparatus citationum*), quoted at Pl. *Men.* 76D4 (with Bluck's note), and *Phdr.* 236D. Cf. Archil. fr. 109 W.; Pi. *O.* 2,85; B. 3,85.

<sup>109</sup> Similarly, the beggar-poet in Ar. *Av.* 945 points back to his fairly obvious request. (Cf. the prophet pursuing his own agenda under cover of Bakis' authority in the next scene.)

<sup>110</sup> ὃδ' ἐc]τι? Pfeiffer, apparatus; ἄov]τι Maas (Pfeiffer I 505). Howald–Staiger 343: “Denn auch zum Tauben spricht mein Wort.”

<sup>111</sup> Dawson 58 cē δῆ] τι (“Why do my words thus silence you?” 59); Gallavotti 48 cē δῆ] τι (“Questo discorso dunque ti dispiace?” 82); Puelma 258 cē μῶν] τι (“Meine Rede hat dich doch hoffentlich nicht verstimmt?” 262). In each case, καί seems impossible.

<sup>112</sup> Pfeiffer (noun); S. fr. 198e R. (verb). Cf. Pearson on S. fr. 234; Hsch. κ 4894 La. κωφεῖ· κακουργεῖ, βλάπτει. κολούει. πηροῖ; κ 4899 La. κώφης· κόλους; κ 4900 κωφήτέος· βλαπτέος; ο 1729 La. οὐ κωφεῖ· οὐ βλάπτει, οὐ πηροῖ. Latte derives the glosses on (οὐ) κωφεῖ from V 34.

|                   |                         |             |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| εμευμενες[        | ]                       | ...προκη..[ |
| τῶν εἴ τι π.[     | ]                       | ταλαν       |
| μηδ' ὄσσον.[      | ]                       | π.ρήκουσα[  |
| οὔτ' εἶδον· οὐ.[  |                         | . . . . .   |
| ὀθνεῖα γειν.[     | 50                      |             |
| ὄψεαί με θυς[     |                         |             |
| ποιεῦντα το[      |                         |             |
| θ...ων...[        | . . . . .               |             |
| ἐλαυνε· μη.[      | ].                      |             |
| οὐδ' οὐμὸς.[      | ]λ[                     | 55          |
| λιπησαδυ.[        | ]                       |             |
| πέμπουσιν[        | ]μη[.]ονεινεπας[.]να[ ] |             |
| φεῦ ταῦτα[        | ]ς·                     |             |
| ἔμπης..[          | ]αιχα...μ.σεων          | 60          |
| ...ευφ[           | ]                       |             |
| ....[             | ]πολ...[.]ς...[ ]       |             |
| ψήφ...[...].ί...[ | ].                      |             |
| ..ε...[.]ςη.....[ | ].α[                    |             |
| ἔκφα.[            | . . . . .               |             |
| ησητο...[         |                         | 65          |
| ηδεσμ.[           |                         |             |
| καὶ φιδόν[        |                         |             |
| ωχησε...[         |                         |             |

At the end of col. i, the poem has reached a turning-point. This is the end of its first half (34 of 68 lines). Warning exhortations rise to a climax in 30–4. ἐγὼ at the start of 35 marks a fresh start. The second half of the poem seems to have concentrated on the speaker himself.<sup>113</sup>

The *Diegesis* does not reflect this change, but it must have been crucial for the speaker's role. Did *Iambus* V, like III, depict a collapse from lofty moralizing into low selfishness? Did the speaker's self-interest emerge? Are we still moving in a school-milieu?<sup>114</sup> I see no thread leading through this labyrinth.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>113</sup> 1st pers. in 43; 46; 49?; 51f; 55. φεῦ (signalling involvement) in 58.

<sup>114</sup> δέλτοι 41: cf. Herod. 3,14 (with Headlam and Cunningham); Dorandi (1997) 4; West (1997) 25; 561f. ὦνα 42: Apollo? addressee of 54? Μου[c- 195a,3 (καὶ μοῦ[νον Gallavotti)?

<sup>115</sup> Cf. D'Alessio 619,102. Gallavotti tried to combine 49 + 195a,5 + fr. 218 οὔτ' εἶδον, οὐ Μούσῃ γὰρ ἦλθε εἰσόβδην (cf. Dawson 60), but see Pfeiffer II 125. Collation of *Et.Gen.* confirms that fr. 218 belongs to a hexameter: *Suppl.Hell.* 279 = 304. For 195a,8 τάλαν, see Gow on Theoc. 5,137. In 9 a form of

What, then, is the speaker's attitude? In what sense is he speaking ἐν ἡθελίᾳ εὐνοίας (*Dieg.* VII 23)? Does he, as he claims in the opening lines, offer disinterested advice? Or is this just a pretence, a mischievous λόγος ἐσχηματισμένος designed to expose the teacher's lust?<sup>116</sup> Not enough survives to answer these questions, but we can compare Callimachus' model: Hipponax fr. 118 West.<sup>117</sup>

There are several points of contact.<sup>118</sup> Both poems are epodes (trimeter followed by dimeter). Callimachus—more Hipponactean than Hipponax—replaces the normal trimeter by the scazon.

The start of *Iambus V* reflects its model in every detail. Hipponax begins with the address ὦ Κάνν' (118,1); Callimachus' first words are ὦ ξείνε (195,1). Hipponax continues with an ἐπειδή-clause that develops into a long parenthesis (118,1–4); Callimachus has a parenthesis (195,1f) before he adds a long ἐπεὶ-clause (still running when the text breaks off: 195,3–7). After his parenthetical sub-clause, Hipponax says 'listen (τοῦς μοι παράσχες 118,5), I will give you some advice (κύν τοί τι βουλευῆσαι θέλω 118,6)'; in his parenthesis, before his sub-clause, Callimachus says 'advice is a holy thing (συμβουλή γὰρ ἔν τι τῶν ἱρῶν 195,1); listen to my sincere words (ἄκουε τὰπὸ καρδ[ίης 195,2)'.<sup>119</sup>

Callimachus had a model. What did he do with it? The commentary on Hipponax says that the poet λαιδορ[εῖται (118 A 3); the *Diegesis* uses the word λαμβίζει (*Dieg.* VII 21). Are there any differences of tone or manner?

Firstly, Hipponax addresses his opponent by name (ὦ Κάνν' 118,1); Callimachus uses ὦ ξείνε (195,1).<sup>119</sup> "Das Verschweigen des Namens bei Kallimachos bedeutet natürlich im Gegensatz zu Hipponax eine gewisse Schonung."<sup>120</sup>

παρακούω? overhear? mistake? disobey? Frr. 210 and 213 may belong to this poem. Cf. *Suppl.Hell.* 278 = 305.

<sup>116</sup> Above, n. 28.

<sup>117</sup> Fr. 129 Degani (with bibliography); cf. Degani (1984) 44f; 171f. Fr. 113 de Sousa Medeiros; fr. 118 Masson (with commentary pp. 162–6); fr. 71 Farina.

<sup>118</sup> Kassel (1958a) 235f; Bühler (1964) 236–41. Cf. Clayman 31; Hutchinson 51. Fraser II 1042,209 is doubtful. On the metre, see above, at n. 7. Cf. also frr. 118,9 and 195,22.

<sup>119</sup> Above, n. 33.

<sup>120</sup> Bühler (1964) 238; cf. Dawson 63.

Secondly, in Hipponax, the sub-clause precedes the exhortation to listen; in Callimachus, it follows. In both cases, they may have contained a fair amount of slanderous detail,<sup>121</sup> but the difference is striking. In Hipponax, the sequence is: address—insults—listen—advice; in Callimachus, it is: address—advice—listen—ἐπεί. What is the effect of this change?

Hipponax prefaces his 'advice' with vitriolic sneers. He speaks to an enemy, and does not mince his words. He wields his poem as a weapon, openly and confessedly meant to hurt. After a torrent of abuse, he sneers: 'listen, I have some advice for you'. Callimachus turns this into a reassuring opening: 'advice is a holy thing'.

Furthermore, Callimachus reverses the sequence of ideas, and turns them into proverbs.<sup>122</sup> Line 1 stresses the counsellor's duty to be disinterested and sincere.<sup>123</sup> It explains why the addressee can and should listen.<sup>124</sup> This is why it precedes ἄκουε (2).

Line 2 (τὰπὸ καρδ[ίης]) lays claim to this sincerity.<sup>125</sup> 'my friend, advice should be sincere, and so my words are, therefore listen'.<sup>126</sup> The focus is not, as in Hipponax, on the vices of the addressee, but on the goodwill of the speaker. This may only be pretence—but at least Callimachus' speaker feels that he has to pretend.

The accusations are different, too. Sannos is above all hungry (i.e. poor), and Hipponax encourages him to finish himself off (if that is the point of the φάρμακον in 118 C 11–14). In Callimachus, the schoolmaster may be said to be living above labourer level, and his vice is voluntary. The situation requires delicacy and tact.

The speaker knows this, and adopts allegory. Hipponax ridicules his opponent in drastic detail; his 'advice' is just a

<sup>121</sup> For Hipponax, some survives; for Callimachus, we do not know. Kassel (1958a) 236 suggests "boshafte Umschweife" until 11 in Hipponax, and until 18 in Callimachus. If the speaker is a schoolmaster, is he mocking his own profession?

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Kassel (1958a) 236; Bühler (1964) 238.

<sup>123</sup> παροιμία ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖν καθαρῶς συμβουλεύειν; above, n. 38.

<sup>124</sup> Above, at n. 40.

<sup>125</sup> Above, n. 41.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Snell at Bühler (1964) 253.

pretext.<sup>127</sup> Callimachus prefers the art of innuendo. His speaker does rather flaunt his sense of tact and decorum, and his intimations are certainly less obscure than he pretends.<sup>128</sup> Even so, he acknowledges the desirability of seemliness and propriety.<sup>129</sup>

How, then, does the speaker of *Iambus V* relate to his addressee? Is his concern genuine, or is there a hidden agenda? Puelma sees the poet as a *praeceptor amoris* defending his own erotic interests.<sup>130</sup> He is rebuking a γραμματοδιδάσκαλος who has meddled with the business of the ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλος.<sup>131</sup> Puelma may be right: the jealous poet attacking an erotic competitor is familiar from Roman elegy.<sup>132</sup> However, the surviving fragments of *Iambus V* offer nothing to support his opposition of elementary vs. erotic teacher.<sup>133</sup>

And yet, it is likely that *Iambus V* had a sting in the tail. For the second half of the poem, the speaker seems to be concerned, not with his addressee, but with himself. It is tempting to compare *Iambus III*, and to find here, too, pretentious high-mindedness deflated.

But why do it again? *III* was a monologue, a prayer. *IV* introduces direct confrontation. In *III*, erotic disappointment was a topic of reflection; in *V*, it has become a source of action. How does the speaker act? Did the second half of *Iambus V* unmask his selfish motives? Did it reveal his ability to sympathize, and to say: φωρὸς δ' ἔχνια φῶρ ἔμαθον? We do not know—but these uncertainties should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the speaker has moved on: from reflection to (inter)action.

As a result of this change, he is beginning to look more agree-

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Bühler (1964) 239.

<sup>128</sup> Hutchinson 51.

<sup>129</sup> Above, n. 93.

<sup>130</sup> Puelma 254–64, esp. 254; Cairns (1972) 72f. Cf. Luc. *DMeretr.* 10.

<sup>131</sup> Puelma 255f (cf. 261,3 on 13ff). On the motif of the *praeceptor amoris*, he cites passages from Roman elegy, none of which seems to bear directly on this poem (cf. Wheeler [1910], and [1910–11]). His supplements for 35–8 suffer from metrical and syntactical shortcomings. The parallels in n. 3 are illusory.

<sup>132</sup> Puelma 263f quotes Catul. 15; 21; Tib. I 9; Prop. I 5; II 16.

<sup>133</sup> Lines 1–7 do not establish the speaker's self-interest (*pace* Puelma 254). The speaker does not criticize the ἐρωτοδιδασκαλία of the γραμματοδιδάσκαλος (*pace* 255; 257f). He does not pose as *magister amoris* (*pace* 255). The notion is not found in Callimachus (*pace* 256f).



able. Compare, again, Hipponax. In their different ways, both poems pretend to give advice.<sup>134</sup> For Hipponax, this is an excuse to be rude. Not so for Callimachus.<sup>135</sup> We do not quite trust the show of altruism, and the poet continues to have fun at the expense of his speaker's manner—but at least these are the mannerisms of benevolence, not of unbridled aggression. Perhaps, after his discomfiture in IV, the speaker is changing. Perhaps, the spirit of *Iambus I* is finally taking hold. Perhaps, in *Iambus V*, he is doing the right thing, though in an odd way—something that will happen again in *Iambus VI*.

<sup>134</sup> Stroux (1934) 315; Herter (1937) 165; (1973) 219; Bühler (1964) 239–41; Clayman 31.

<sup>135</sup> Körte–Händel 103f. It is naïve to assume that the very composition and publication of the poem constitutes an unfriendly act (ibid. 349f,43): the poem invents a private conversation; it does not reflect its own publicity. Clayman thinks that “the target of the abuse does not understand a single word of it” (32), and detects ridiculing of literary forms (33).

## *Iambus VI*

THE length of *Iambus VI*, and the proportions of its parts, can be determined with some certainty. Beginning and end are securely established. Most of the lines are represented in some form. There are two lacunae, but there is no doubt about their place in the poem, and little about their extent. (On the evidence of the papyri, see the Excursus above.) We can, again, survey the poem as a whole. It will be worth the trouble: there is some fine writing to be salvaged here. Even in its mutilated state, *Iambus VI* deserves a place of honour among the works of Callimachus.

Like *Iambus V*, *Iambus VI* is an epode<sup>1</sup> (trim + ith;<sup>2</sup> the metre recurs in *Iambus VII*). At the start of Ch. 5, I spoke about Callimachus' handling of the epodic couplet: the effects of its dichotomy, and the relation of sentence and verse. In the fragments of *Iambus VI*, Callimachus' metrical art is at its most consummate. Lines like 37f, 42–4, 45f contrast sharply with the efforts of a less accomplished practitioner in the same metre—Hermocles' paean on Demetrius Poliorcetes (1–12):<sup>3</sup>

Ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι  
τῇ πόλει πάρεσιν·  
ἐνταῦθα γὰρ Δήμητρα καὶ Δημήτριον  
ἅμα παρήχ' ὁ καιρός.  
Xῆ μὲν τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς Κόρης μυστήρια  
ἔρχεθ' ἵνα ποιήσῃ, 5

<sup>1</sup> Above, Ch. 5 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> No. XXVI in Rossi (1976) 224 on tab. 1; Pfeiffer (1934b) 23, 1. Cf. Anacr. fr. 86 P.; *Carm. Pop.* 5 P.; *AP* XIII 21; Theocles, and Hermocles (*Coll. Alex.* pp. 173f). West (1982) 43 claims it for Archilochus. On p. 150, he calls it a "novel epodic combination from Archilochian and Hipponactean elements". He does not list it among Archilochean metres at *IEG* I p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> West (1982) 148 thinks that Theocles and Hermocles modelled themselves on *Carm. Pop.* 5. It may be important that the metre has cult associations, as well as purely Iambic ones: Zeus in a Dionysiac metre?

ὁ δ' ἰλαρός, ὥσπερ τὸν θεὸν δεῖ, καὶ καλὸς  
καὶ γελῶν πάρεστι.  
Cεμνόν τι φαίνεθ', οἱ φίλοι πάντες κύκλω,  
ἐν μέσοις δ' αὐτός,  
ὅμοιον ὥσπερ οἱ φίλοι μὲν ἀστέρες,  
ἥλιος δ' ἐκείνος.

10

Hermocles thinks in couplets. When he has made his point before the couplet is full, he resorts to padding (20; 22). Within the couplet, sentences simply run on (1f; 3f, 5f, 7f, etc.). He does not create syntactic tension, and fails to articulate the epodic alternation.

More complex structures are beyond him. 5f set up a contrast: Demeter is here for the mysteries—and Demetrius? Because—he is ἰλαρός, καλός, γελῶν (7f)! After two lines, the argument disintegrates, and the tension falls flat. Composition is shoddy, thought poor, syntax flabby.<sup>4</sup> Callimachus will show what this metre can do.

Of the opening part of the poem, only line-beginnings survive.<sup>5</sup> A coronis marks the end of *Iambus* V, and the beginning of VI. Part of the first line survives in quotations.<sup>6</sup> Its full text is known from the *Diegesis*. Since the text of the poem is so fragmentary, I start from the summary in *Dieg.* VII 25–31:

Ἀλεῖος ὁ Ζεύς, ἃ τέχνα δὲ Φειδία      Γνωρίμῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποπλέοντι κατὰ  
θέαν | τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς εἰς Ἥλιν διηγείται | μῆκος ὕψος πλάτος βάσει  
θρόνου | ὑποποδίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὅση ἢ | δαπάνη, δημιουργὸν δὲ  
Φειδίαν Χαρμίδου Ἀθηναῖον.

The opening line is puzzling. It does not establish the situation sketched in the *Diegesis* with the precision of earlier incipits. Direct address occurs only in 45 and 62; it seems likely that there were instances in the fragmentary first part of the poem.<sup>7</sup> All that is needed to set the scene may have been contained in

<sup>4</sup> Note the ponderous and inept simile in 9–12 (spoiling Il. VIII 555f; Sapph. fr. 34 L.–P.; cf. H. Kleinknecht, *ARW* 34, 1937, 294–313); the syntactical incompetence of 11f; the heavy-handed paronomasia in 3 (and the dreadful iotacistic pun in 19!).

<sup>5</sup> *PSI* 1216 ii: the twenty-one or twenty-three lines preceding Pfeiffer's line 22 (above, *Excursus*, at n. 14). I keep Pfeiffer's numeration for convenience.

<sup>6</sup> Pfeiffer.

<sup>7</sup> On the setting, see Pfeiffer (1941) 1; Puelma 295; 313.

2. In V and VII, the opening couplets are conceived as a unity. The *Diegesis* should have quoted the full opening couplet.

Could Callimachus have written his epodic couplets in one line? The papyri offer no examples, and the trimeter may have set a standard column-width. However, ἀσυνάρτητα are normally written in one line,<sup>8</sup> and this could be relevant to epodes: in the Cologne Archilochus, there are instances of metrical pause between the two elements of the ἀσυνάρτητον.<sup>9</sup> The only example of ἀσυνάρτητα split over two lines is particularly interesting, precisely because it does not show metrical pause between first and second elements.<sup>10</sup> Layout, it appears, was not strictly determined by metrical practice. If ἀσυνάρτητα could be written in two lines, it is conceivable that epodes could be written in one.

What does line 1 mean? How do Ζεύς and τέχνα balance? What is the opposition implied? There may be an echo of this line in an epigram from Pergamum:<sup>11</sup>

Παῖς ὁ Δεινοκράτους με σοί, Θυώνης[  
 κοῦρε, καὶ βασιλῆϊ τὸν φίλοινον  
 Ἀττάλῳ Διονυσόδωρος εἶσεν  
 Κίρτον οὐΞικυῶνος· ἅ δὲ τέχνα  
 Θοινίου, τὸ δὲ λῆμμα Πρατίνειον.  
 μέλοι δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ὁ ἀναθείς [με.

Here, the contrast is between 'conception' (λήμμα) and 'execution' (τέχνα).<sup>12</sup> That does not suit *Iambus* VI. For Puelma, the supreme 'art' of the statue shows up its rustic setting.<sup>13</sup> But why

<sup>8</sup> Rossi (1976) 209 on Archil. fr. 168, and *spurium* 322 W.

<sup>9</sup> Kannicht (1975); Rossi (1976; an extended version, announced at 220, seems not to have appeared), esp. 221,12 (cf. [1975]); Parsons (1983) 518,4; Bremer *et al.* (1987) 51–9, esp. 52–4, and bibliography at 59–61. Cf. Palumbo Stracca (1980).

<sup>10</sup> The Berlin papyrus of fr. 227; cf. the incipit in *Dieg.* X 6. Pfeiffer: "forma 'epodica' et in Diegesi et in Pap. Berol.; sed Hephaestionem sequor". Rossi (1976) 212 with 221,11 (examples of this metre: no.13 at 227 tab. 2). Cf. Puelma 296,3.

<sup>11</sup> H. Müller (1989); end 3rd cent. BC. As W. Luppe points out (letter of 15 June 1991), ἅ δὲ τέχνα is the only Doricism in the epigram (cf. Θυώνης 1, Θοινίου 5). A bow to the master, and his Doric poem?

<sup>12</sup> H. Müller (1989) 522; cf. *ZPE* 86, 1991, 28f, esp. n. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Puelma 295,3: "Eine humoristische Note, nämlich eine ironische Andeutung des Mißverhältnisses zwischen dem herrlichen Kunstwerk und

should we think of rusticity? And does τέχνα really mean 'art' here?

In the first half of the line, Callimachus announces 'Zeus of Elis' as his topic; in the second half, he turns to the statue. The contrast is between divinity and artefact. τέχνα means 'work of art'.<sup>14</sup>

The playful identification of god and statue lies at the heart of *Iambus* VI. The statue is 'the god himself' (37f). A common manner of speaking<sup>15</sup>—pushed, by a literal-minded speaker, to hilarious extremes of comic absurdity. The god is reduced—not just to an image, the programme of its iconography, the skill of its execution, but to the most banal qualities of any physical object: its materials, and its measurements.<sup>16</sup> This reduction is pervasive. Line 1 establishes the rules of the game.

How did the poem continue? Of the next twenty-one or twenty-three lines, only a few letters survive (1–21):

seiner rustikalen Umgebung mag auch noch im Eingangsvers: 'Der Zeus steht zwar in Elis, aber die Kunst ist die des Phidias' sich abzeichnen und in den folgenden verlorenen Versen weiter ausgeführt worden sein."

<sup>14</sup> Pace Manakidou (1993) 239,122 ("künstlerische Fähigkeit"). See Lloyd-Jones and Parsons on *Suppl.Hell.* 974,5 "τέχνα: i.e. artificis opus", comparing *AP* XVI 85,1, and 192,2. (Did 974,5 originally begin with the sculptor's name?) Cf. Howald-Staiger 345: "Der Zeus ist Elier, doch von Phidias stammt das Werk".

<sup>15</sup> Cf. fr. 101; 200b; *Del.* 307–9; *Lav.Pall.*; Hdt. IX 81,1; Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 32f; Austin on *Verg. A.* II 178. See also Hdt. V 75,2; Simon. fr. eleg. 11,3of W.; West (1997) 209f, esp. 210,124 (cf. 72; 73f; 76; 174; 252; 486f; 560). Measurements in the epigram on the Colossus of Rhodes (*Str.* XIV 2,5 p. 652; Preger [1891] no. 280 [p. 229]; Cameron [1993] 294f): *Τὸν ἐν Ρόδῳ κολοσσὸν ἐπτάκις δέκα | Χάρης ἐποίει πήχεων ὁ Λίνδιος*. Cf. Hdt. I 183,2.

<sup>16</sup> For the play on "Materialität und Artefaktcharakter", see Kassel (1983) 11f; *Iambi* VII and IX; fr. 100 (cf. 101; Manakidou [1993] 222–5); *AP* XVI 191; Luc. *JTr.*, and *JConf.* 8. Esp. fr. 114 (with Massimilla on fr. 64,4–17); 114,2 with *AP* VI 334,3; 114,6 with the epigram on the Colossus of the Cypselids in Olympia (Preger [1891] no. 53 [p. 43f] = Geffcken [1916] no. 36 [p. 12f]). Cf. *Priap.* 10 (with Goldberg on 2ff); Mart. VI 73,8. Below, Ch. 7 nn. 63–4. Cf. Ph.Byz. (Overbeck no. 733): *Διὸς Κρόνος μὲν ἐν οὐρανῷ, Φειδίας δ' ἐν Ἡλίδι πατήρ ἐστι. ὃν μὲν γὰρ ἀθάνατος φύσις ἐγέννησεν, ὃν δὲ Φειδίου χεῖρες μόναι δυνάμεναι θεοὺς τίκτειν. . . . εἰ δ' αἰσχύνεται Ζεὺς Φειδίου καλεῖσθαι, τῆς μὲν εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἡ τέχνη μήτηρ. . . . τοῦτο δὲ καὶ προσκυνούμεν*. Wieland, *Aristipp* I 5: "Komm und sieh, und bete an!" See also Overbeck no. 739. (References are to numbers in Overbeck [1868]; cf. Brodersen [1992].)

Ἀλείῳς ὁ Ζεύς, ἅ τέχνα δὲ Φειδία  
 ..ωχ`....[  
 η.[.]...το.[  
 ..[  
 ..[ 5  
 αυτ[  
 αν..[  
 τῶ.[  
 ουκ[  
 .α..[.]...[ 10  
 .ανδιφ....[  
 Πῆσαν ω...[  
 παχ`.. τιμ[  
 εκδε..[  
 ..[ 15

vv. 16–21 *vestigia primae litterae uniuscuiusque versus*

Here, the *Diegesis* provides little help beyond establishing the dramatic frame. The topics listed are all accounted for later in the poem.<sup>17</sup>

On 2ff, Pfeiffer writes: “prior pars iambi ad iter γνωρίμου spectare videtur, v. 11. 12 (?); hunc familiarem alloquitur poeta infra v. 45 et 62”.<sup>18</sup> One would expect an address, words about the voyage, perhaps also prayers and good wishes in the style of a προπεμπτικόν—something on which *Dieg.* VII 25–7 was based. All that survives is Πῆσαν (12). More than twenty lines (about a third of the poem)—how did Callimachus fill them? Did he anticipate “die Reise bis zum Reiseziel”?<sup>19</sup> Since there is nothing to stop the gap, there is no reason to assume the loss of one or several columns between *PSI* 1216 and *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii.<sup>20</sup>

When the text resumes on *POxy.* 2171 fr. 2 ii, the description of the statue has already begun.<sup>21</sup> Not much seems to be miss-

<sup>17</sup> διηγείται | μῆκος ὕψος πλάτος βάσεως θρόνου | ὑποποδίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὄση ἡ | δαπάνη (*Dieg.* VII 27–30).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Dawson 67; Puelma 293 Πῆσαν ὀπιβ[αίνων in 12 (cf. Pfeiffer’s apparatus). <sup>19</sup> Howald–Staiger 345.

<sup>20</sup> Above, Excursus, following n. 13.

<sup>21</sup> For the placing of frs. 4 and 5, see the Excursus above. On the measures, measurements, and Callimachus’ poem: Pfeiffer (1941); Mallwitz (1964) 1, 1; 75–8, esp. 77f (differs from Callimachus); D’Alessio 621, 103. For older literature, see Pfeiffer’s article, and his notes on 25ff; 31; 37f. Cf. Curtius–Adler

ing: substance and sequence of the *Diegesis* are matched by the fragments of the poem. Did Callimachus give an account of the temple before 22?<sup>22</sup> At this point, he has already turned to the statue itself (22–8):

.ς λαγὸς χελύναν,  
καὶ τῶπιβαθρον τῷ θρόν[ω] τὸ χρύ[σι]ον  
]. ἐν ἐπλάτννται.  
...]. δ[.] εἰρὰν πέντε τε[τ]ρ[άκι]ν [πο]δῶν  
...]. τ[.] δ' ἐς ἰθύ,  
...]. τετράδωρα ταν[ ] .[  
....]αι παλασταί.

25

Hare and tortoise in 22: an ἀδύνατον, or a fable illustrating πολλάκις φύσιν ἀμελοῦσαν πόνος ἐνίκησεν?<sup>23</sup> Or simply ‘it outruns description as the hare outruns the tortoise’? If so, ὥς would be welcome, but Pfeiffer’s ἀς suits the traces better.<sup>24</sup> Dawson suspects that “perhaps there is some reference here to the figures of athletes on the rods between the feet of the throne” mentioned by Pausanias<sup>25</sup>—but the throne is dealt with below (29–36).

Next, μῆκος ὕψος πλάτος βάσεως θρόνου | ὑποποδίου αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ (*Dieg.* VII 28f): the measurements of pedestal (βάσις), throne (θρόνος), footstool (ὑποπόδιον), and statue (αὐτὸς ὁ θεός; cf. line 37 αὐτὸς δ' ὁ δαίμων). The summary accurately reflects the poem: 23–8 describe the pedestal; 29–36 the throne (with footstool?); 37–44 the statue (with Νίκη in its right hand; Ὠραὶ and Χάριτες behind its head, on the back of the throne). To this list, the *Diegesis* adds the cost (VII 29f), and the artist (VII 30f). Compare lines 45ff (cost), and 59ff (Phidias) of the poem.

The two accounts differ in one respect: the sequence of the

(1892) 11–16; Picard (1945). Where did the measurements come from? The *Miracula* tradition gives only the height (breadth in Overbeck no. 738). Some literature on the Zeus of Phidias: Morgan (1952); Richter (1966); Fuchs (1983) 263–5; Gruben (1986) 57–60; Herrmann (1972) 120–57, esp. 146–57; Mallwitz (1974) 228f. Cf. Frazer on Paus. V 11,1; Lippold (1938) 1920–4; Schrader (1941); Kunze (1946), esp. 110–13; Liegle (1952); McConnell (1984); Ekschmitt (1984) 123–45; 279–81; 290; Höcker-Schneider (1993) 83–98.

<sup>22</sup> Dawson 69.

<sup>23</sup> Pfeiffer; Aesop. 254.

<sup>24</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus: “fort. ἀς = ἔως?”

<sup>25</sup> Dawson 69; Paus. V 11,3.

three dimensions. The *Diegesis* has μήκος ὕψος πλάτος (VII 28), 'length height width'. The poet states first width (25), then length (26), and last (27f) the height of the pedestal. For the throne, he gives first height (31), then width (32), and last length (33ff?). There is, thus, no correct sequence which the *Diegesis* could have followed.

The poetic effect is clear. *Iambus* VI is in constant danger of degenerating into a mere list of facts. The antidote is *variatio*. Compare 25 and 32 (the width of pedestal and throne). The measurement is the same for both: twenty feet. How to say 'twenty', and how to say it twice? In 25, periphrasis: πέντε τε[τ]ρ[άκι]ν.<sup>26</sup> But what next? A dialectal gloss (32): ἱκατιν.<sup>27</sup>

23–8 contain the "descriptio baseos".<sup>28</sup> τῷ πύλαθρον τῷ θρόν[ω] (23) should then refer to 'the pedestal of the throne'. ἐπίλαθρον, 'the thing on which to stand', could be the βάσις.<sup>29</sup> However, the ἐπίλαθρον is called τὸ χρύ[σι]ον (23). The pedestal was not made of gold.<sup>30</sup>

Pfeiffer concludes: "ἐπίλαθρον vix βάθρον ipsum esse potest".<sup>31</sup> He contrasts compound and simplex—is he suggesting that ἐπίλαθρον could refer to something *on* the βάθρον? He quotes Pausanias V 11,8: ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάθρου χρυσᾶ ποιήματα. Should ἐπίλαθρον be a word for these golden decorations? Could Callimachus give the dimensions of the base by saying 'and on the pedestal, the frieze spreads out for twenty feet'?

First, the compound. Why should ἐπίλαθρον not mean 'something on which to stand'? ἐπιβάθρα means 'step, ladder',<sup>32</sup> and two early Byzantine epigrams have ἐπίλαθρον for 'something on

<sup>26</sup> Below, n. 41. Numerals: fr. 21,12 (with Massimilla on fr. 23,12); *Del.* 251 (with Mineur).

<sup>27</sup> Or εἰκατιν? Below, n. 50.

<sup>28</sup> Pfeiffer. The breadth of pedestal and throne was 20 ft: Pfeiffer (1941) 4.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. 37 ἐφεδρίς. Technical language? Or a poeticism? Is Callimachus giving a literal meaning to the Homeric catachresis *Od.* XV 449? Cf. *A.R.* I 421; Mineur on *Del.* 22; *LSJ* III; *Rev.Suppl.* III.

<sup>30</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 183: "It seems to have been accepted hitherto that the dark limestone of the pedestal was used to set off the rest of the rich materials."

<sup>31</sup> Pfeiffer on 23f. Manakidou (1993) 239 regards ἐπίλαθρον as a poeticism for βάθρον; refers ἐπλάτνται to "die lange Reihe goldener Bilder"; expects another adjective to go with τῷ πύλαθρον . . . τὸ χρύ[σι]ον at the start of 24!

<sup>32</sup> *LSJ*; *Suppl.*; modified in *Rev.Suppl.*



which to rest'.<sup>33</sup> Compare ἐφεδρίς (37), 'something on which to sit'. Finally, the genitive τῷ θρόν[ω] favours 'the pedestal of the throne'. It would seem strange to speak of 'der Basisschmuck des Thrones'.

Second, the epithet. Does τὸ χρύ[ει]ον<sup>34</sup> present an obstacle? It is owed to the addition of fr. 5; should one reconsider? The physical join is very good.<sup>35</sup> Could it not simply mean "adorned with gold"?<sup>36</sup>

The objections behind Pfeiffer's note can be met. Besides, his proposal creates new problems. Could 23ff describe the decoration of the pedestal?

There were those decorations: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ βάθρου <τοῦ> τὸν θρόνον τε ἀνέχοντος καὶ ὅκος ἄλλος κόσμος περὶ τὸν Δία, ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάθρου χρυσᾷ ποιήματα . . . ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ . . .<sup>37</sup> On 24, Pfeiffer notes: "fort. ἐπλ. vel ἐνεπλ. ad has aureas imagines referendum est quibus lata baseos frons ornatur"—how exactly? If ἐπίβαθρον is a word for these ornaments, the two are presumably subject and predicate. 'The decor stretches, spreads out'?

Pfeiffer assumes that the frieze goes only across the front ("lata baseos frons"), and does not cover the sides of the pedestal. This is probably correct. The last figures mentioned in Pausanias are ἡδὴ τοῦ βάθρου πρὸς τῷ πέρατι (i.e. at the edges of the front; no word about what is found along the sides). It follows that the measurements of breadth and depth (25f) can only refer to the pedestal itself, not the frieze on its front. The awkwardness becomes obvious in Dawson's translation (69):

And [golden decorations] spread across  
the base beneath the statue's throne,  
[a figure band] four times five feet in width  
and six times five from front to back.

Here, the decorations first "spread across" the front of the base, then the frieze goes round it ("from front to back").

The text, it has to be said, is incomplete, the syntax of 25f

<sup>33</sup> LSJ III.1: *AP* IX 140; 661. Cf. *Suppl.*, and *Rev. Suppl.*

<sup>34</sup> Or χρύ[ει]ον; but χρύσειον is also found in some Doric dialects. Cf. n. 118. Another Aeolism: ἔπωνε in *Iambus* IV 77 (cf. *Cer.* 95; also Doric).

<sup>35</sup> Above, *Excursus*, following n. 13.

<sup>36</sup> LSJ I.1.

<sup>37</sup> Paus. V 11,8. Cf. Fink (1967) 12–16.

unclear. There is a low point in the papyrus at the end of 24,<sup>38</sup> and after it, the subject may have changed. However, the scales are tipped against Pfeiffer's interpretation of *τὸ ἐπίβαθρον*.

How does 23 construe? (*ἐμ*)*πλατύνω* means 'to broaden, widen'. (*ἐν*)*ἐπλάτνυνται* is 3rd pers. sg. perf. ind. mid.-pass. If passive, perhaps something like *τὸ ἐπίβαθρον ἐπλάτνυνται τὸ χρύσιον* *α*, 'the pedestal is broadened (= decorated across its width?) with golden ornaments, figures' (with retained accusative, and a noun going with *τὸ χρύσιον* at the start of 24). However, article and word-order suggest that *τὸ χρύσιον* should go with *τὸ ἐπίβαθρον*.

If so, the verb will be intransitive middle, 'to stretch, spread out'. *ἐπίβαθρον* could be 'base' or 'frieze'. Dawson takes the decoration to "spread across the base"; Gallavotti thinks that the base itself "par che non abbia limite". I follow Gallavotti, and understand 'the pedestal adorned with gold spreads out'. Various supplements have been proposed for 24.<sup>39</sup>

"If *ἐπλάτνυνται* (or conceivably *ἐνεπλ.*) means 'is broad', 'has a breadth of', an expression for 30 feet presumably follows."<sup>40</sup> It is twenty feet, but it does follow. 25, then, gives the width (or breadth, *πλάτος*),<sup>41</sup> 26 the length (or depth, *μῆκος*) of the pedestal,<sup>42</sup> 27f its height (*ὑψος*).<sup>43</sup> The length is invisible, and

<sup>38</sup> Pfeiffer I 505.

<sup>39</sup> None is convincing: *ἀμφεπλ.*, *πάν ἐνεπλ.* (both too long); *αἰὲν ἐπλ.*, Gallavotti, who translates (83): "E l'aurea base del trono par che non abbia limite . . .". The trace preceding *εν* is just a dot on the line.

<sup>40</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 61 on 2.

<sup>41</sup> 'latitudo' Pfeiffer. On the text, see his apparatus; for *τε[τ]ρ[άκι]ν*, Pfeiffer (1941) 4; on fr. 4, above, Excursus, n. 9, and following n. 13. Postponement of the multiplier: Pfeiffer's note, and I 505; Alex. fr. 192,2 K.-A.; Hopkinson on *Cer.* 95.

<sup>42</sup> 'longitudo' Pfeiffer (with parallels); Manakidou (1993) 239,18. Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 61 on 5: "*ἐς ἰθύ* appears to express a dimension, but which particular dimension is expressed by 'in a straight line'?" Pfeiffer's note in (1941) compares X. *Eq.* 7,17 *ἐπειδάν γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς εἰς τὸ εὐθύ βλέπη ὁ ἵππος, ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ θάττον αὐτὸν ὁρμάτω*. He considers *ἐξά[τ]ις* δ' *ἐς ἰθύ* (ibid. 4,13).

<sup>43</sup> "mensurae minores ad altitudinem baseos (1.90 m.?) spectare videntur" (Pfeiffer; in his article, he gives "1.10 m.?", and this seems to be correct). "The figures (listed in Pausanias V, 11, 8) are perhaps one foot high; cf. *τετράδωρα*" (Dawson 69). Would that not make the frieze very narrow for the base? And why two measurements in two equivalent measures (below, n. 70)?

sandwiched in the middle. Height is left until last, so that the description can proceed upwards without a break.

After the pedestal, throne and footstool (no traces of the latter among the extant fragments).<sup>44</sup> First height/ὑψος (here ἐς τὸ μακρόν, 31), then width/πλάτος (here εὖρος, 32), and last (at 33ff?) presumably its length/μήκος or βάθος (29–36):

30

35

35

*Λυδιεργές* (29) occurs only here.<sup>45</sup> It must describe the throne and should qualify the word to be supplied at the beginning of 30, e.g. ἐδρ]άνω.<sup>46</sup> Why is the throne ‘of Lydian workmanship’?<sup>47</sup>

In 31, wording and measurement remain elusive, but it seems clear that ἐς τὸ μακρόν refers to height.<sup>48</sup> 32 gives the

<sup>44</sup> “29–36 mensurae sellae (et ὑποποδίου)” (Pfeiffer). Cf. Fink (1967); Vogelpohl (1980).

<sup>45</sup> For the formation, cf. *Λυκι(ο)εργής*; Buck–Petersen 702; Kretschmer–Locker 227. Pfeiffer compares A.R. fr. 1 P. from the *Κάνωβος*—apparently an ἔκφρασις in scazons, perhaps also a προπεμπτικόν (direct address in fr. 2). Cf. Fraser II 421,634.

<sup>46</sup> A little too long? Hsch. ε 510 La. *ἔδρανον· δίφρον, καθέδραν*; Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 61 on 8; Pfeiffer’s apparatus. *κέλμ’]* ἄνω is too long; the metaphor is inappropriate (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 182f); and since the noun is attracted into the relative clause, a genitive (after ὧπι) is wanted (cf. K.–G. II 413–20, esp. 416–20; Bond on E. *HF* 1164; attribute may stay in the main clause: K.–G. II 419 c). τὸ] *Λ.* seems too long (cf. Lobel 61; Pfeiffer’s apparatus). There is an illegible scholion on fr. 4 (Lobel 184), perhaps explaining the crases (Pfeiffer’s apparatus). Howald–Staiger 346 ὧπι (29). Genitive and dative are possible: LSJ A.I.1; B.I.1a. For the Doric genitive, cf. 23 τῶ θρόν[ω].

<sup>47</sup> ‘Of pure gold’? *Λυδία λίθος* = ‘touchstone’: B. fr. 14 with Snell–Maehler, and Jebb on fr. 10. For Lydian embroidery (and other luxury goods), see fr. 80,6; Sapph. fr. 98(a),10f; (b),1–3 L.–P.

<sup>48</sup> “31 ἐς τὸ μακρόν ‘in altum’, cf. 38 μάσσων” (Pfeiffer). On the measurements, see his note, and Pfeiffer (1941) 4 (on fr. 4); *ibid.* on μήκος = ‘altitudo’. Cf. LSJ 1b; Pl. *Sph.* 235D8 ἐν μήκει καὶ πλάτει καὶ βάθει (*pace* LSJ 1a); *Plt.* 284E4f μήκη καὶ βάθη καὶ πλάτη; *Ep.Eph.* 3,18. Differently LXX *Ge.* 6,15, and *Ex.* 25,10; *Apoc.* 21,16.

breadth of the throne:<sup>49</sup> twenty feet, like the pedestal (25). (Note the two different ways of saying ‘twenty’.<sup>50</sup>)

The only dimension still missing is length (or depth; βάθος, μῆκος); it must have come somewhere between 33 and 36.<sup>51</sup> Here also the footstool must have been mentioned.<sup>52</sup> In the *Diegesis*, it is listed after the throne—exactly where it fits into the surviving fragments.<sup>53</sup>

The next two lines offer the rare luxury of a complete couplet<sup>54</sup>—and a fine couplet it is (37f):

αὐτὸς δ’ ὁ δαίμων πέντ[ε] τ[ὰ]ς ἐφ’ ἑδρ[ῆ]δος  
παχέεσσι μάσσων·

This must be the point at which the speaker turns to the statue itself: αὐτὸς δ’ ὁ δαίμων sets it off against what precedes, and marks a climax. The pronoun emphatically draws attention to the divinity, but all that is meant here is the artefact.<sup>55</sup> This is ‘the god himself’ only in contrast to its appurtenances (like the footstool). The couplet epitomizes the speaker’s reductionist attitude. When we finally look at Zeus, what do we see? That he is taller than his chair.

Nor is his chair called θρόνος. The word used is ἐφ’ ἑδρίς.<sup>56</sup> It occurs only here—what is its linguistic level? Is it technical,<sup>57</sup> or

<sup>49</sup> ἐς εὖρος = in breadth, width (πλάτος). Cf. LSJ; Pfeiffer (1941) 4.

<sup>50</sup> Above, at n. 26. On ἵκατιν/ε]ἵκατιν, see Pfeiffer’s apparatus; Schwyzler 591; LSJ εἶκοσι and (F)ίκατι; compounds with ἵκατι- in LSJ *Rev. Suppl.*; Meiggs–Lewis no. 2,4; Hsch. ι 442 La. ἵκα[ν]τιν εἶκοσιν. Fίκατι or ἵκατι is the normal West Greek form; ν ἐφελκυστικόν is foreign to the inscriptions, but normal in literary Doric. If Callimachus spelt it with εἰ, that was a concession to the κοινή.

<sup>51</sup> “inter 33 et 36 mensura lateris periit” (Pfeiffer).

<sup>52</sup> Paus. V 11,7 on the ὑπόθημα/θρανίον; Fink (1967) 16–26. Line 36 π]ᾶχυς? Lobel (Pfeiffer’s apparatus).

<sup>53</sup> *Dieg.* VII 29; Dawson 69.

<sup>54</sup> The end of 37 survives on fr. 4: above, Excursus, n. 9, and following n. 13.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. [Thuc. II 13,5 καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυείοις (continues with τὸ ἄγαλμα) L.A.H.-S.]; Mosch. 2,54 χρυσοῦ δὲ τετυγμένον αὐτὸς ἔην Ζεύς (with Bühler; cf. 44 ἐν μὲν ἔην χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη Ἰναχὶς Ἰώ). Above, n. 16.

<sup>56</sup> ἐφ’ ἑδρ[ῆ]δος Gallavotti.

<sup>57</sup> R. Schmitt 25,33; like the various figures and measures? Cf. Puelma 294; Clayman 34. ἀναισίμωμα (45) raises similar questions. Manakidou (1993) 240 (with n. 163) calls ἐφ’ ἑδρίς a “Maßterminus”—because παλαστή occurred in Philemon’s Ἐφ’ ἑδρίται (fr. 26 K.–A.)! At Hero *Spir.* I 30, ἐφ’ ἑδρα is the surface

poetic? Whatever its tone, the deflating effect is achieved by cutting everything down to size, measurements, figures: the god is measured against his seat.

The two words of the ithyphallicus (38) express in a nutshell the clash of poetical language (μάccων) and the rhetoric of quantification (παχυσ). They are carefully prepared to cap the trimeter: παχέεcci μάccων neatly and succinctly resolve the syntactical tension built up in πέντ[ε] τ[ἀ]ς ἐφεδρ[ί]δος. The versification is quite superb—and all the more effective, because it serves to make a surprising point: the most remarkable thing about the Zeus of Phidias? Its height in cubits.<sup>58</sup>

Zeus receives short shrift in a single couplet (perhaps the central couplet of the poem). No more is said of ‘the god himself’. In the next line (39), the poet turns to the Victory in Zeus’ right hand (39–44):<sup>59</sup>

40

.]ιτῆι δὲ Νίκα χη. ε δὲ δυ. [˘  
 ....]. [.]ει τελει .. [  
 ....]η. κκηπ[.] .. [.]αταιδ[  
 παρθένοι γὰρ Ὀραι  
 τὰν ὀργυιαῖαν ὄccον οὐδὲ πάς[ca]λο[ν  
 φαντὶ μειονεκτεῖν.

The *Diegesis* is silent, the text fragmentary—but suggestive. The numerals (δὲ δυ. [ 39) leave no doubt that Victory, too, had her measurements taken. And if Gallavotti’s α]ιτῆι is correct at the start of 39, Νίκη, too, would appear to have engaged in those quaintly competitive remonstrations ascribed to the Ὀραι and the Χάριτες in 42–4.

The next two lines (40f) are badly damaged.<sup>60</sup> What did they say? Did they move, from the Victory in Zeus’ right hand, to sceptre and eagle in his left?<sup>61</sup> Or to the other Νίκαί at the

of the βάσις (or ἔδρα). Could ἐφεδρὶς be a part of the throne (the upper cross-piece?)

<sup>58</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 128. For the measurements, see Pfeiffer’s note, and I 505. Cf. fr. 114,4f, and the Colossus of Rhodes (above, n. 15); Hdt. II 176; Theoc. 15,17 with Gow; LXX *Da.* 3,1 (not extant in Callimachus’ day).

<sup>59</sup> Paus. V 11,1; Pfeiffer. 39 χῆτῆ?

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Dawson 69.

<sup>61</sup> Paus. V 11,1.

legs and feet of the throne?<sup>62</sup> Did γάρ in 42 introduce a new sentence, or a parenthesis? What was it explaining? The symmetry of the arrangement? Argument, syntax, and metrical organization remain unclear.

In 42–4, the poem turns to the Ὕραι and Χάριτες on the back of the throne.<sup>63</sup> In what survives, only the Ὕραι are mentioned. With the help of Pausanias, those referred to in τὰν ὀργυιαῖαν can be identified as the Χάριτες.

The papyrus has ὀργυιαῖαν.<sup>64</sup> This must be wrong: here, -αν is long, whether accusative or genitive. Lobel writes τὰν ὀργυιαίαν, and observes:<sup>65</sup>

‘For the maiden Seasons say that the six-foot one comes not a . . . short’, a strange way of saying that some one does not fall short of six feet, but the alternative possible translations are no more attractive.

Pfeiffer replied:<sup>66</sup>

That would indeed be much too strange. No, all we have to do is to move the circumflex a little to the right and to read ὀργυιαῖαν; the Doric genitive plural depends on μειονεκτεῖν: ‘The maiden Seasons say they are not even a pin shorter than the women who are one fathom high.’ This seems to me rather a charming way of implying that the Horai feel a certain pride: they stress the fact that they receive the same treatment as the Charites, whom the artist as well as the poet always respected highly.

Lobel resorts to conjecture, Pfeiffer explains the error.<sup>67</sup> The circumflex is correct, it is merely misplaced (a common mistake). The genitive makes good syntax. But how were the tall ladies identified? I suppose the Χάριτες were mentioned somewhere in 40f.

<sup>62</sup> Paus. V 11,2.

<sup>63</sup> Paus. V 11,7.

<sup>64</sup> Without breathing (*pace* Pfeiffer’s apparatus).

<sup>65</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 61 on 21.

<sup>66</sup> Pfeiffer (1941) 5; cf. his paraphrase: “Horae enim dicunt se ne tantillo quidem minores esse quam illas unam ulnam (vi pedes = 1.98 m.) longas (i.e. Gratiarum)”. On the measurements, Pfeiffer (1941) 4,15: “Paus. V,11,7 ὑπὲρ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀγάλματος seems not to conform to the clear statements of the poem.” Str. VIII 3,30 p. 353 (ἀπτόμενον δὲ χεδόν τι τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ὀροφῆς) supports Callimachus (Trypanis 131).

<sup>67</sup> Pfeiffer (1941) 5,16 (cf. his apparatus) suggests ὀργυιαῖαν. Corréption of υι: West (1982) 11f; cf. 14; *LSJRev.Suppl.*

In these lines, metrical and syntactical units coincide. 42 contains the subject. 43 builds up tension: through climactic οὐδέ, and the genitive looking ahead to the verb. In 44, the main verbal statement resolves this tension. Metre articulates sentence structure; it modulates the buildup of argument.

43 introduces yet another measuring standard: the ὄργυια. There have been several already: πούς (25), τετράδωρον (27), παλαστή (28), πᾶχυς (38)—*variatio*, again.<sup>68</sup> Do they make a (historically or practically) coherent set? The last three are attested in the Zeno archive.<sup>69</sup> Not πούς—which is, however, so common that its absence must be accidental. But what about τετράδωρον? A (poetical?) equivalent to παλαστή, it seems.<sup>70</sup> On the whole, the measures are those of Callimachus' world.

Alongside these precise technicalities, the colloquialism ὅσον οὐδὲ πάσσαλον ('not one jot!') betrays the speaker's misplaced enthusiasm.<sup>71</sup> All he cares for is size. Ψραι and Χάριτες are often associated<sup>72</sup>—here, their companionship is reduced to equality in length. The Χάριτες are ὄργυιαῖαι. What else is there to be said?<sup>73</sup>

μειονεκτεῖν (44) reinforces this sense of absurdity. It means 'to be at a disadvantage'.<sup>74</sup> Which 'disadvantage' are these protestations designed to contest? Which 'deficiency' do the goddesses vociferously deny? What is the *point d'honneur* occasioning this

<sup>68</sup> Above, at n. 26. Clayman 34,56; Howald-Staiger 345. Cf. Od. XI 311f ἐννέωροι γὰρ τοίγε καὶ ἐννεαπῆχες ἦσαν | εὖρος, ἀτὰρ μήκος γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι; West (1997) 121f.

<sup>69</sup> Pestman (1981) B 547f: δάκτυλος (finger's breadth; τρι-, τετρα-, ὀκταδάκτυλος); τετραδάκτυλος = 1 παλα(ι)στή (palm of the hand); ὄργυ(ι)α (length of outstretched arms); 7 παλασταί = 1 πῆχυς (cubit; τετρά-, ἑξά-, ἐπτά-, ὀκτάπηχυς); 100 πῆχες = 1 χοινίον. Cf. Hdt. I 50,2; Theoc. 15,17 with Gow.

<sup>70</sup> LSJ δῶρον II, and τετράδωρος; West on Hes. *Op.* 426 δεκάδωρον; Nic. *Ther.* 398; Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 171. Cf. Howald-Staiger 345; Manakidou (1993) 240,129–30.

<sup>71</sup> Ar. fr. 939 K.–A.; Ussher on Ar. *Ec.* 284; cf. *Epigr.* 46,9 (with Gow–Page on *HE* 1055); Pfeiffer's note, and (1941) 5,16. Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 61 on 21, is doubtful about reading πάσσαλον. The papyrus does not confirm or rule out; the parallels are convincing. It is also highly suitable for a wood-frame statue.

<sup>72</sup> West on Hes. *Th.* 901; cf. Pi. *O.* 4,1–10.

<sup>73</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 128: "Ist 'klafterlang' zu sein die Erfahrung, die wir uns von der Darstellung der Göttinnen der Anmut und der Jahreszeiten durch Phidias erwarten?"

<sup>74</sup> LSJ *Rev. Suppl.*

divine dispute? ‘We are not a pin shorter than you . . .’ Pfeiffer ascribes to the *Ἱππαι* “a certain pride”<sup>75</sup>—but their pride is laughable. Puelma comes closer to the mark: “ja sogar die einzelnen Relieffiguren läßt der Dichter wie kleine Mädchen regelrecht um ihre Größe streiten”.<sup>76</sup> The speaker is not just missing the point; he misses it spectacularly.

The next couplet (45f) provides perhaps the most perfectly controlled example of metrical mastery, informal chattiness, and humorous absurdity surviving from this poem (45–57):

τ[ὸ] δ' ὦν ἀναισίμωμα—λίχνος ἐςσι [γάρ  
 καὶ τό μεν πυθέσθαι—  
 ....]ˆ[.] μὲν [ο]ὐ [λ]ογιστὸν οὐδ. [.]ε[  
 .....] ἔς τε χρυσό[ν  
 .....]ῥ[.....]. [..]ˆ[  
*vv. 50–7 desunt*

δ' ω̂ν shows that the end is approaching, and paves the way for the apogee of ultimate deflation. "At the end of a series of details, δ' ο̂ν often marks the last and most important".<sup>77</sup> The tone remains conversational and unelevated.

The climax raises expectations—which are shattered when the new topic is revealed: ἀνατίμωμα, ‘the cost’. A rare word. What is its tone? Like ἐφεδρίς, it could be technical,<sup>78</sup> or poetic. Its stylistic resonances escape us, but meaning and effect are plain: the rhetoric of figures, again, stressing the *Artefaktcharakter* of the god. First inches, now pounds.

<sup>75</sup> Pfeiffer (1941) 5.

<sup>76</sup> Puelma 204.

<sup>77</sup> Denniston 463. A kind of signposting "almost confined to prose" (ibid.). Poetic examples only from trimeter passages of Euripides and Aristophanes. An Attic idiom in a Doric poem? But see n. 78

<sup>78</sup> R. Schmitt 103,26: "Das wie das zugrunde liegende ἀναίσιμῶς nur bei Herodot belegte Wort ist ein speziell ionischer *terminus technicus* für 'Kosten' dessen Verwendung in einem dorisierenden Text (fr. 196,45) auffällt." In Herodotus, the word has no particular literary associations, and is widely used for δαπάνη/ἀνάλωμα. Cf. *Dieg.* VII 29f καὶ ὅση ἢ | δαπάνη; Hsch. α 4339 and 4340 La.; *Suda* α 2203 Adler; Eust. on Od. VIII 258 (I 295,32-5)—all derived from Herodotus. Not, it appears, in the documentary papyri. [This suggests that the word is a Herodoteanism: the speaker, at the climax of his exposition, recalls by his language the classic model for descriptions of ἀξιοθέητα. The same may apply to δ' ὧν. L.A.H.-S.]



The low topic is cast into relief by the following parenthesis. After ἀναιδέωμα, the sentence breaks off: the word is left to ring out, the shock to settle in the reader's mind. Protestations of urgency heighten the sense of incongruity. Direct address signals the importance of this most fascinating item.<sup>79</sup>

Language and metre are handled with supreme skill. The parenthesis spills over the end of the trimeter into the ithyphallicus. Thus, λίχνος is given time to sink in. Syntactically, we wait for the object of this 'greed'. Again, the ἐπωδὸς στίχος resolves the tension.

The form makes an important point. By this elegant sleight of hand, the speaker manages to impute responsibility for his crowning irrelevancy to his helpless addressee. λίχνος is a strong word ('greedy, lewd'): 'you are positively λίχνος to learn this, too, from me'.<sup>80</sup> The speaker's stylistic extravagance marks the ironical attitude of the poet.

The couplet ends on a playful note: πυθέσθαι. What could be further from the pleasures of learning than these pointless pedantries?<sup>81</sup> It is a pity that the next lines are so badly damaged. No doubt, there were some impressive figures coming.

Or were there? Did 47f specify the amount of gold used on the statue?<sup>82</sup> Did the speaker leave it at a hyperbolical claim that the sum is [ο]ὔ [λ]ογιστόν, 'beyond calculation'?<sup>83</sup> The shape of the sentence as a whole is lost. τε (48) rather pedantically implies a pair: "beyond calculation as well with regard to [the ivory?]<sup>84</sup> as to the gold".

<sup>79</sup> Puelma 316,2; 317,2; Hutchinson 27.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. fr. 571,1 (with note); fr. 186,26 ]ατι λιχνο[τά]τω and 29 ] ἀναιδέος ὀθμ[α]τος ἄλκα[ρ]; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 912f. Quoted as an example of αἰσθητικὸν ἀντὶ αἰσθησεως (Pfeiffer). On μετάληψις αἰσθησεως: Lobeck (1846) 329–52, esp. 340–6; Wærn (1952), with bibliography. Cf. Norden on Verg. *A.* VI 256ff; Gow on Theoc. 1,149; Dawe on S. *OT* 186; Hutchinson on A. *Th.* 103; Erbse on Sch. Il. XIV 172b (cf. on III 152b; XI 390a). Il. XVI 127; Pi. *P.* 10,36 (*pace* Gildersleeve: Köhnken [1971] 161).

<sup>81</sup> Reinsch-Werner (1976) 274–6 on Hes. fr. 273 M.–W.; Call. fr. 43,84f; 196,45f; esp. 276 on 196,45f: "Hier verwendet Kallimachos die alte formelhafte Wendung, Kennzeichen für Katalogstil, deutlich mit boshafter Ironie."

<sup>82</sup> Pfeiffer: "47 sq. auri habita ratione".

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Fraser I 739.

<sup>84</sup> Dawson 71; Howald–Staiger 347.

Almost nothing survives of 49, and with it, the papyrus breaks off. Between this point and the last five lines of the poem (preserved on *POxy.* 2171 fr. 3), 6 or 8 or 10 lines are lost.<sup>85</sup> Did all of them deal with expenses? Or did the *Diegesis* skip something?

Finally, the last five lines (58–62):

]

]ωθεδης' ὁ Φειδ[ίας

]Ἀθανα[ 60

]. [. ]. [. ]. δ' ὁ Φειδία πατ[ήρ

.....] ἀπέρχεν.

The first letters in 59 look like a verb, but resist articulation. The speaker returns to Phidias. Did the end look back to the beginning of the poem?<sup>86</sup> Here, the reference may be to the artist's signature on the footstool.<sup>87</sup>

]Ἀθανα[ must be the last word of the ithyphallicus (60).<sup>88</sup> The city? The goddess? Her statue? A reference to Phidias' other great work, or a statement of his origin? At the start, Zeus of Elis and his Athenian maker; at the end, Phidias' home town and his father's name (*Dieg.* VII 3of). The next line does mention his father, and this tips the scales in favour of the πόλις.

In 61, πατ[ήρ looks certain. Where was his name *Χαρμίδας* mentioned? Probably not in the first half of 61.<sup>89</sup> Before? Or in 62? The *Diegesis* presupposes the formula *Φειδίας Χαρμίδου Ἀθηναῖος*. Did *Iambus* VI close with an elaborate periphrasis of

<sup>85</sup> Above, Excursus, following n. 14. *POxy.* XVIII 2171 fr. 3 is most likely "inferior pars eiusdem columnae cuius pars superior est fr. 2 col. II" (Pfeiffer's apparatus on 58–62).

<sup>86</sup> Puelma 294. In 61f ᾗ]ν δ' ὁ Φειδία πατ[ήρ | *Χαρμίδας*] in parenthesis (Parsons)?

<sup>87</sup> Paus. V 10,2; Pfeiffer on 59f; Dawson 71; Hiller von Gaertringen (1926) 19f (no. 48); Fink (1967) 17. *Dieg.* VII 3of: δημιουργὸν δὲ Φειδίαν Χαρμίδου Ἀθηναῖον.

<sup>88</sup> Forms of ἀθάνατος are excluded by the metre.

<sup>89</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 61 on 40: "If *Χαρμίδας* was written, it could not be verified." Dawson 70: "Metrical considerations make it improbable that *Χαρμίδας* was written before δ' ὁ Φειδία, unless we read δὲ Φειδία." Would Callimachus tolerate *caesura media*? Tragedians do, but not the early Iambicists: West (1982) 82f.

these simple words? The reversal of the grammatical cases in 61 (identifying, not the son by his father, but the father by his son) suggests that convention was turned on its head.

The last line sends the voyager on his way: ἀπέρχου.<sup>90</sup> Off to Elis (Lobel)? Or 'leave the temple full of amazement, having made your προσκύνημα' (Maas)? The *Diegesis* favours the former. A brusque farewell.

*Iambus* VI has caused some consternation. Here is Pausanias:<sup>91</sup>

μέτρα δὲ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἐπιστάμενος γεγραμμένα οὐκ ἐν ἐπαίνῳ θήσομαι τοὺς μετρήσαντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα αὐτοῖς μέτρα πολὺ τι ἀποδέοντά ἐστιν ἢ τοῖς ἰδοῦσι παρέστηκεν ἐς τὸ ἄγαλμα δόξα.<sup>92</sup>

Is Pausanias thinking of writers on the measurements in general, or of Callimachus' poem in particular?<sup>93</sup> The mocking pedantry of the phrase μέτρα . . . ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος appears to echo the systematic absurdity of the *Iambus* as epitomized in the *Diegesis* (VII 28 μῆκος ὕψος πλάτος).

Why does Pausanias censure the μετρήσαντες? Because a list of measurements cannot capture the experience of the beholder. Is that possible in the medium of language? What does Pausanias want? Literary ἐκφρασις.

How can ἐκφράσεις reproduce the effects of fine art? They emphasize lifelikeness through techniques of 'enlivening dynamization', i.e. by turning an artefact back into life: describing it in action; imagining movement and sound; stressing transient visual effects (like glitter); etc.

This is precisely what other descriptions of the Zeus do. They stress, a little nervously, the overwhelming impression,

<sup>90</sup> Lobel, *POxy.* XVIII, p. 61 on 41: "I have told you all. Go your ways", but ἀπέρχου cannot be verified." Cf. Pfeiffer. At the beginning, Maas suggests προσκύσας] (cf. *S. Ph.* 1408; see *Ph.Byz.*, above, n. 16), Gallavotti πάντ' ἔχεις]. ταῦτ' ἔχων]? The end of *Iambus* VI is established by the first line of *Iambus* VII. Cf. fr. 214, and perhaps also 209 and 212 (Pfeiffer).

<sup>91</sup> Paus. V 11,9.

<sup>92</sup> Can these words mean "their records fall far short of the impression made by a sight of the image"? Hitzig-Blümner list various conjectures. Perhaps ἢ (ἢ)? (Rather inelegant, [and would not Pausanias have written τῆς . . . παρεστώσης . . . δόξης? L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>93</sup> The latter: Hitzig-Blümner; Pfeiffer (1941) 1; Dawson 72; D'Alessio 621,103. For later writers on (one or two of) the measurements, see Overbeck nos. 736-8.

the statue's awesome magnitude, its beatific qualities.<sup>94</sup> The best 'description' in this sense, creating a living image of the living god, is probably found in the passage that was believed to have inspired Phidias, *Iliad* I 528–30:<sup>95</sup>

ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεύσε Κρονίων·  
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος  
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

In Callimachus' poem, no movement, no life, no overwhelming power. Everything is turned into measurements.<sup>96</sup>

Similar expectations, and reprimands, in Lucian:<sup>97</sup>

εἰςὶ γάρ τινες, οἳ τὰ μεγάλα μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἀξιωματικῶν παραλείπουσιν ἢ παραθέουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἰδιωτείας καὶ ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ἀγνοίας τῶν λεκτέων ἢ κιωπητέων τὰ μικρότατα πάνυ λιπαρῶς καὶ φιλοπόνως ἐρμηνεύουσιν ἐμβραδύνοντες, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ μὲν ὅλον κάλλος τοσοῦτο καὶ τοιοῦτο ὄν μὴ βλέποι μηδὲ ἐπαινοῖ μηδὲ τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσιν ἐξηγοῖτο, τοῦ ὑποποδίου δὲ τό γε εὐθυεργές καὶ τὸ εὐξέστον θαυμάζοι καὶ τῆς κρηπίδος τὸ εὐρυθμον, καὶ ταῦτα πάνυ μετὰ πολλῆς φροντίδος διεξιὼν.

Lucian's point is slightly different: not measurements, but the praise of technical detail.<sup>98</sup> ὑποπόδιον and κρηπίς, however, recall Callimachus. Elsewhere, he rebukes him (and other Hellenistic poets) for wasting time on irrelevancies.<sup>99</sup>

Finally, there is Strabo's remark on *Iambus* VI:<sup>100</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Passages are collected in Overbeck nos. 692–754 *passim*, esp. 705 and 707 (D.Chr.); 727 (Arr. *Epict.* I 6,23); 720 (Plu. *Sull.* 17) καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν. Cf. Luc. *Am.* 13; Wieland, *Aristipp* II 47.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Sch.II. I 528–9 (with Erbse); Overbeck nos. 698 (Str. VIII 3,30 p. 354); 705 (cf. 709), and 710 (D.Chr.); 725 (Plb. de Aem.); 726 (Plu. de Aem.); 728 (Eust.); 729 (V.Max.); 730 (Macr.). Wieland, *Aristipp* I 5; II 47.

<sup>96</sup> Puelma 294f; Reinsch-Werner (1976) 276,1: "Die übertriebene Anhäufung von Zahlen und Maßen statt einer poetisch inspirierten Würdigung des herrlichen Kunstwerks steht in bewußtem Kontrast zu den üblichen Kunstbeschreibungen und ist satirisch gemeint." The idea seems to have had some success: see Lucil. 525 (with Marx); Puelma 295,1.

<sup>97</sup> Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 27 = Overbeck no. 731.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Str. I 1,23 p. 13 (cited below); Hor. *Ars* 32–4 (comparing a statue). Against *μικρολογία*: Plb. I 4,7; VII 7,6; 15,1 (with Walbank). Cf. Longin. 33,2 (τὸ γὰρ ἐν παντὶ ἀκριβὲς κίνδυνος μικρότητος).

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 57 (Parthenius, Euphorion, Callimachus), and Homeyer on both chapters. Cf. Lucian's *εὐθυεργές*, and *Λυδιεργές* 29.

<sup>100</sup> Str. VIII 3,30 p. 354, in his chapter on the Zeus of Olympia.

ἀνέγραψαν δέ τινες τὰ μέτρα τοῦ ξοάνου, καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τινὶ ἐξείπε.<sup>101</sup>

Is he criticizing Callimachus? Elsewhere, he says that ἐν τοῖς κολοσσικοῖς ἔργοις οὐ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβὲς ζητοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καθόλου προσέχομεν μᾶλλον, εἰ καλῶς τὸ ὅλον.<sup>102</sup> Like Lucian, he rates the effect of the whole above a pedantic concern with detail. Read in this light, the reference to Callimachus looks like disapproval. Robert thought that Strabo and Pausanias shared the same hostile attitude to the Alexandrian scholar-poet, and that both owed it to a Pergamene source.<sup>103</sup>

There is an alternative. Is Strabo warning against μικρολογία, or is he rather saying that colossal statues are a bad thing because they discourage a precise assessment of their merits? Wilamowitz found in Strabo a critical attitude inspired by Callimachus.<sup>104</sup> The crucial passage:<sup>105</sup>

. . . τηλικούτον τὸ μέγεθος ὥς καίπερ μεγίστου ὄντος τοῦ νεῶ δοκεῖν ἀστοχῆσαι τῆς συμμετρίας τὸν τεχνίτην καθήμενον ποιήσαντα, ἀπτόμενον δὲ σχεδόν τι τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς ὀροφῆς ὥστ' ἔμφασιν ποιεῖν, ἐὰν ὀρθὸς γένηται διαναστάς, ἀποστεγάζειν τὸν νεών.

This, Wilamowitz thinks, must derive from the poem of Callimachus, “der sich nicht dabei begnügt haben kann, die Zahlen in Verse zu bringen, sondern die Statue kritisiert haben muß” (515). An attractive idea—is it true?

First, Strabo. In the first passage he must be warning against μικρολογία: in the context of self-apology, he is surely saying that the ensemble is more important than the detail. In the second, he makes an individual observation, not a point of

<sup>101</sup> Presumably, the *Iambi* were not numbered. Strabo could make either this sort of vague reference (cf. Paus. VII 10,6, with historic precedent in Hdt. I 12,2), or clumsily cite the first words (Arist. *Rh.* III 17 p. 1418<sup>b</sup>27–31; Ath. XIV 76 p. 658C1f = Semon. fr. 22 W.). Below, Ch. 8, at n. 62.

<sup>102</sup> Str. I 1,23 p. 13.

<sup>103</sup> Robert (1886) 51,2.

<sup>104</sup> Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* V 1, 514–16 (cf. Merkelbach, *APF* 16, 1956, 89f = [1997] 81–3). He compares Longin. 36,3.

<sup>105</sup> Str. VIII 3,30 p. 353 = Overbeck no. 698. Wieland, *Aristipp* I 5: “Ganz gewiß machte Fidias diese scharfsinnige Bemerkung auch, und tröstete sich und den Baumeister damit, daß sein Jupiter wahrscheinlich wohl immer sitzen bleiben werde.” [Cf. Apollodorus of Damascus' objection to Hadrian's temple of Venus and Roma: ἂν γὰρ αἱ θεαὶ ἔφη ἐξαναστήσεσθαι [sic] τε καὶ ἐξελεῖν ἐθελήσωσιν, οὐ δυνήσονται (Dio 69. 4. 5). L.A.H.-S.]

principle. He does not criticize *κολοσσιακά ἔργα* in general. And even if he did, he and Callimachus would not necessarily be playing the same game. Both may well have chuckled at the thought of Zeus breaking through the roof of his own temple; but where Callimachus ridicules his speaker's perversity of judgement, Strabo makes a point of aesthetic criticism.

Next, Callimachus. There is no reason to believe that he offered any criticism of the statue.<sup>106</sup> To expect him to do so is but Pausanian pedantry in disguise. Had Wilamowitz lived to see the fragments of Callimachus' poem, he would have been surprised to find that they do not go beyond "die Zahlen in Verse zu bringen". This does not mean, of course, that Strabo must have condemned *Iambus VI*. Perhaps he understood, and enjoyed the fun.

Pausanias and his modern disciples read *Iambus VI* as a piece of art criticism, and find it wanting. Dawson grants it "little poetic inspiration", and "is tempted to share the opinion expressed by Pausanias (V, 11, 9), perhaps with reference to this very work".<sup>107</sup> Could it be that Callimachus is doing something else?

Callimachus avoids the tone of the confessional; no protestations of deep experiences and profound emotions. Instead, he confines himself to a catalogue of measurements. He enjoys his strange topic, and treats it with artful dexterity.<sup>108</sup> Similar challenges are sought in contemporary didactic,<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> As was assumed, after Wilamowitz, also by Puelma (293): "eingehende Beschreibung des Kunstwerkes . . . , die bis in die technischen Details ausgearbeitet ist und mit dem Namen des Bildhauers (Phidias) sicher auch ein Kunsturteil verband". Callimachus may not have liked large statues any better than large books, but that is not what *Iambus VI* is about. Cf. E. A. Schmidt (1990) 128; D'Alessio 621, 103; Manakidou (1993) 241.

<sup>107</sup> Dawson 72; cf. Trypanis 130.

<sup>108</sup> Dawson 72; Howald-Staiger 345; Trypanis 130; Herter (1973) 219, 13: "Formkunststück". Körte-Händel 104: "Einmal mehr hat sich der Dichter hier die Freude gemacht, das ausgesucht Trockene ins Gedicht zu zwingen, wobei er sein Tun auch hier mit einem Lächeln begleitet." Fraser I 738f, at 738: "The details in question had been considerably discussed, and no doubt Callimachus found it amusing, as contemporary mathematicians did, to resolve calculations into a metrical form."

<sup>109</sup> See Cic. *de Orat.* I 16,69 and *Rep.* I 14,22 (*poetica facultas* independent of factual knowledge).

ecphrastic,<sup>110</sup> and mathematical<sup>111</sup> poetry. The virtuosity of these poetical sleights of hand is considerable, but it seems to have been this very emphasis on formal accomplishment and technical skill which left Pausanias—and his modern followers<sup>112</sup>—bemused and irritated.

Two scholars have recently tried to overcome this initial irritation: G. Zanker, and E. A. Schmidt.<sup>113</sup> Zanker discusses *Iambus VI* as an example of pictorialism:<sup>114</sup> “The poem, as we know it, looks like a monstrous display of erudition, and its joking point may have been to render Callimachus’ friend’s visit to Elis unnecessary.” The poem, it seems to me, is as ‘un-pictorial’ as possible. The statue’s visual impact is ignored. The standard elements of *ἐκφρασις* are avoided. The measurements do not convey the viewer’s experience. The poem frustrates all such expectations.

Schmidt begins with the observation that *Iambus VI* is “eines der Gedichte des Jambenbuches, zu denen der Versuch, es als Jambus zu verstehen, noch nicht gemacht worden ist”.<sup>115</sup> He writes:<sup>116</sup>

In diesem Jambus kommt der Bekannte des Kallimachos in die Rolle eines Touristen, während der Dichter aus der Maske eines ortsansässigen und deshalb dorisch sprechenden Fremdenführers in Elis spricht. Dabei geht es um mehr als einen harmlosen Spaß. . . . Bitterer kann eine Satire kaum sein, allerdings auch urbaner nicht, als diese Kritik an der Veräußerlichung und Materialisierung der Kunst und des Göttlichen. Ihre Urbanität scheint ihren jambischen Sinn zu verstecken, der doch, wenn man erst einmal die richtige Frage gestellt hat, so deutlich ist wie die Kritik in den Worten des Pausanias.

Callimachus and Pausanias on the same side, after all! Is this alignment plausible? Do we want to save Callimachus by bring-

<sup>110</sup> *GLP* 105a = *Suppl. Hell.* 978; Fraser I 609f; II 860f, 412; Hardie (1983) 129.

<sup>111</sup> Fraser I 407f (with II 587–9), at 408: “The poems of Archimedes and Eratosthenes are, of course, simply exercises of ingenuity and not comparable to such a genuine scientific poem as the contemporary *Phaenomena* of Aratus.” Cf. *ibid.* I 411–13 (with II 594–6) on Eratosth. fr. 35 P.; Pfeiffer (1968) 155, 1.

<sup>112</sup> On whom see Hutchinson 27, 3.

<sup>113</sup> Puelma’s discussion (293–6) is not entirely clear; I shall return to it.

<sup>114</sup> G. Zanker (1987) 64f.

<sup>115</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 127–9, at 127. Cf., however, Puelma 293–6, esp. 294–6.

<sup>116</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 128.

ing him into line with Pausanias? Do we want to defend his poem by measuring it with Pausanias' yardstick? Do we want to accept Pausanias' categories, and make Callimachus agree? If we do, we have to find 'bitter satire' in the poem, "Kritik an der Veräußerlichung und Materialisierung der Kunst und des Göttlichen".

Is Callimachus arguing a case, or is he just being perverse? Where does *Iambus* VI go beyond detached irony and quaint satire? Where does it turn bitter and polemical? Where, in other words, does it emerge that Callimachus is generalizing? The view "daß das Jambische am sechsten Gedicht des Jambenbuches bei den Zahlen und Maßen und in der Sprache ihres Kontextes gesucht werden muß" (128) does not show that "das Jambische" is bitter, sardonic, and directed against a universal vice. In his desire to help Callimachus to a morally respectable cause, Schmidt is still under the spell of Pausanias.

Who, in Schmidt's view, is the target of Callimachus' attack? The poet, he says, speaks "aus der Maske eines ortsansässigen und deshalb dorisch sprechenden Fremdenführers in Elis". The poem becomes a satire on local guides and curious tourists.<sup>117</sup>

An attractive scenario, but there are doubts. No support from the fragments, or the *Diegesis*. The poem is not set in Elis, the speaker is not given any particular role, and the dialect is not enough to turn him into a local guide.<sup>118</sup> Callimachus uses

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Gallavotti 18 "una pagina di guida turistica in versi"; Preisshofen (1979), esp. 267f: "Natürlich benutzt der Dichter die Möglichkeit, die gewaltige Grösse des Zeusbildes in kleinsten Grössen zu fassen, zu heiterem und ironischem Effekt. Aber dass diese Massangaben zur Verfügung standen und dass eine detaillierte Beschreibung gleichsam dem Freund, der nach Olympia reist, als 'Kunstführer' mitgegeben werden konnte, ist bezeichnend. Es mag in diesem *Jambus* eine ironische Anspielung auf die in dieser Zeit entstehende Gattung der Reiseliteratur verborgen sein, in der das 'Wissenswerte' zu Städten und Ländern gesammelt und geordnet wurde." Mocking the departing friend for a 'touristic attitude'? Puelma 295: "in erster Linie aber scheint Kallimachos den Freund zu *ἰαμβίζειν* für seine offenbar etwas undifferenziert neugierige Kunstauffassung, die ihn das kolossale Zeusmonument besuchen läßt". As evidence for this "Kunstauffassung", he quotes 45f! Again, Callimachus is brought into line with Pausanias.

<sup>118</sup> On Doric in Hellenistic poetry, see Buck (1946); Dover (1971) xxxviii–xlv; Ruijgh (1984); Abbenes (1996); Bulloch on *Lav. Pall.*, pp. 26–8; Hopkinson on *Cer.*, pp. 43–51. Below, Ch. 7 n. 20; Ch. 8 nn. 50 and 102; Ch. 10 n. 45.



Doric elsewhere, sometimes in poems of friendship (perhaps as a mark of the *vox poetae*).<sup>119</sup>

We are left with Schmidt's question: "Welchen Sinn hat dieser Jambus, welchen jambischen Sinn?" Answers should not be guided by Pausanian impatience at Callimachus' pedantry. As Pfeiffer saw, the pedant is Pausanias:<sup>120</sup>

Pausanias, loudly applauded by a modern critic, disapproved of the writers on measurements. We only hope that the traveller to Olympia, whom Callimachus presented with this exquisite 'guide', was free from such austere pedantry; if so, he enjoyed the useful information as well as the perfect workmanship of the poem, felt the touch of irony, and understood the fun.

Pfeiffer's words are liberating. Who wants *doctrina*, where so much *delectatio* is found? And yet, even Pfeiffer is not content with a mere thing of beauty (and fun). He detects a combination of *utile dulci*, and is least convincing where he tries to salvage an element of "useful information" from this hilarious wreckage of common sense. "Useful information"? "Sober statements"? Too serious by half.<sup>121</sup> In his encomium of learning, finally, the professor turns poet, and the poet professor:

He had the desire of true knowledge, and the pleasure of learning was to him the least perishable of pleasures in human life. He avoided any sort of flabby rhetoric, he aimed at precise facts.

The facts are not there for their own sake. They are there to surprise and disappoint, to reduce and deflate, to entertain and amuse through their misplaced exactitude and incongruous ingenuity.

This, I think, lies at the heart of what Pfeiffer calls "the touch of irony". What, then, is the target of this irony? The misled curiosity of Puelma's addressee? The trite philistinism of Schmidt's tour-guides? Or Zanker's hapless attempt at keeping a friend from going abroad and giving him what only personal experience can give?<sup>122</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Stylized, not consistent Cyrenaean: *ZPE* 86, 1991, 27–34, at 32–4, esp. 33f, and 34 on VI.

<sup>120</sup> Pfeiffer (1941) 5.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Hutchinson 27,3.

<sup>122</sup> A mixture of all three (the poet playing the philistine to attack his friend's attitude and cure him of the desire to see the statue) in Reinsch-

All agree that the poem caricatures a strange attitude to art. But whose attitude is this? Who is being ridiculed? The addressee? He sets off to see Olympian Zeus,<sup>123</sup> but that hardly bespeaks excessive curiosity. Do 45f reflect his lack of intellectual sophistication, or the speaker's? There is no case against him.

Who, then, is left? Who is the subject of this caricature? The answer seems obvious—the one who engages in this strange ἐπίδειξις:<sup>124</sup>

Die ironische Pointe des Iambus in dieser Hinsicht ist unverkennbar: Wir denken natürlich sofort an den Dichter selbst, den *poeta doctus* par excellence, der sich so gerne als Dilettanten der Kunstwissenschaft ausgibt und mit seiner pedantisch-antiquarischen Gelehrsamkeit kokettiert.

But is this not precisely Pausanias' point, that the measurements are not worth knowing? Pausanias blames others; his interest is in the statue. Callimachus laughs at himself; his interest is in the pedant's cast of mind. Again, the poet embarrasses the speaker. "The perversity of the scholar is much enjoyed by the poet."<sup>125</sup> Surely, not even Pausanias can object to Callimachus' poking fun at himself?

The speaker's profile will emerge more clearly when *Iambus* VI is set against the foil of related literary traditions. One point of comparison, ἐκφρασις, has already been mentioned, and I shall return to it at the end of this chapter. First, however, I want to look at the formal setting of this poem and compare it with the tradition of προπεμπτικά.

The poet speaks γνωρίμῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποπλέοντι.<sup>126</sup> *Iambus* VI is a

Werner (1976) 276: "Offenbar haben wir hier das erste Spottgedicht auf den Tourismus von kunstbeflissenen 'Bildungsbürgern' vor uns; denn aus den Resten läßt sich entnehmen, daß Kallimachos hier in der Rolle eines Kunstbanausen versucht, seinem Freunde (der vielleicht nur einer Mode folgt) das hehre Kunstwerk zu verleiden".

<sup>123</sup> ἀποπλέοντι κατὰ θεάν | τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς εἰς Ἥλιν (*Dieg.* VII 26f).

<sup>124</sup> Puelma 295; however, he goes on to say that "in erster Linie" the poem turns against the addressee (above, n. 117). Manakidou (1993) 242 takes the display of learning seriously.

<sup>125</sup> Hutchinson 27.

<sup>126</sup> *Dieg.* VII 25f.

προπεμπτικόν.<sup>127</sup> What are the characteristics of προπεμπτικά? How does *Iambus VI* compare?

Cairns begins with Menander, *περὶ προπεμπτικῆς λαλιᾶς*.<sup>128</sup> Menander has three types:

(i) superior to inferior, emphasizing advice (395,4–12);

(ii) equal to equal, emphasizing affection (395,12–20);

(iii) inferior to superior, emphasizing encomium (395,21–6).

He then gives an example of type ii (396–9). Menander is interested in formal addresses on (semi-)public occasions. He takes it for granted (and says so) that an audience will be present (396,11).

Poetical προπεμπτικά are different. If the traveller is addressed, the scene is no public occasion, but a meeting of friends. There is no audience; the tone is intimate. τόποι and argument are the same;<sup>129</sup> spirit and tone of the address are not.

Nor need a poet address the traveller at all. Usually, farewell-poems take the form of prayers on behalf of the προπεμπόμενος to suitable divinities, the ship, etc.<sup>130</sup> Direct address of the trav-

<sup>127</sup> Pfeiffer (1941) 1 (with reservations); Picard (1945) 130; Puelma 293–6; Dawson 72; Trypanis 130; Clayman 34. On προπεμπτικά: Cairns (1972) *passim*, with list of examples (284f), and analysis of τόποι (310–12: ‘General Index’ s.v. “propemptikon”); Cairns (1979) via ‘General Index’ (239); Jäger (1913), esp. 4–37; Russell–Wilson on Men.Rh. 398,29–399,10 (pp. 304f); Nisbet–Hubbard, introduction to Hor. *Carm.* I 3 (pp. 40–5); Kiessling–Heinze, introduction to Hor. *Carm.* I 3 (pp. 19f); Pasquali (1920) 260–78; Vollmer, introduction to Stat. *Silv.* III 2 (pp. 394f); Quinn (1963) 239–73; Görler (1965). Cf. Bobrowski (1991). I have not seen H. Grupp, *Studien zum antiken Reisegedicht* (diss. Tübingen 1953), or J. N. Rauk, *The Lover’s Farewell: A Study of the Propemptikon in Greek and Latin Literature* (diss. Michigan 1987). Cf. Call. fr. 400 Pf. (and 602? Jäger [1913] 8–10); Theoc. 7,52–89 with Gow; *AP* XII 52; 171. The poet’s leave-taking: Sol. fr. 19 W. with Barner (1967) 12,1; Catul. 46; Juv. 3. See also Wilamowitz (1913) 153,2; Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 1495–1511; Watson (1991) 56–62; Nisbet–Hubbard, introduction to Hor. *Carm.* I 4 (pp. 58–61).

<sup>128</sup> Men.Rh. II 5 pp. 395,1–399,10; Cairns (1972) 7–10.

<sup>129</sup> And, I suppose, ultimately derived from poetry. Menander recommends a format from blame to praise—natural, and widespread: grief at the separation yields to good wishes for the traveller. Cf. Wachsmuth (1975).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Hor. *Carm.* I 3, the mock-προπεμπτικόν *Epod.* 10, and its model Hippon. fr. 115 W. On prayers, promise of sacrifice, etc., see Wachsmuth (1967), esp. 463–79 (prayers for εὐπλοια; cf. 272–6). Kannicht on E. *Hel.*, II 374,1, defines προπεμπτικά as “poetisch ausgeformte Gebete um, oder Wünsche für, εὐπλοια”, and collects epigraphic examples. Cf. Puelma 296. A possible exception: E. *Alc.* 286.

eller is the mark of a different genre, e.g. elegy. In an elegiac context, propemptic elements are made to serve the lover's appeals, and the address of a protecting deity is replaced by the address to the beloved *προπεμπομένη* herself. Manifold variations are possible.<sup>131</sup>

In *Iambus* VI, Callimachus addresses his friend. The personal addressee suits the propemptic Iambus. The situation is intimate. The speaker says good-bye. This is their last meeting for some time, if not for ever. "Journeys in the ancient world were serious occasions. Absences were long, communications uncertain, and the sea strange and unpredictable."<sup>132</sup>

And what does Callimachus offer on this serious occasion? No 'come home safely', but *ἀπέρχεν*. No complaint about the imminent separation (*αἰετλιασμός*), no prayer for his friend's welfare, no encouragement in the face of danger,<sup>133</sup> no promise of sacrifice to the saviour gods<sup>134</sup> and of a feast on the occasion of his safe return. Instead, a list of pointless facts.

The trick found appreciative imitators,<sup>135</sup> but none seems to have gone as far as Callimachus in divesting the knowledge imparted of all conceivable interest.<sup>136</sup> The resulting self-irony is very much Callimachus' own.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 1. For a hybrid concoction of various traditional motifs and forms of address, see Stat. *Silv.* III 2.

<sup>132</sup> Nisbet-Hubbard, introduction to Hor. *Carm.* I 3, p. 41.

<sup>133</sup> Winds: Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I 3,4; Görler (1965) 340-2. Cf. *Epod.* 10,3ff, with Fraenkel (1957) 35.

<sup>134</sup> The Dioscuri and St. Elmo's fire: Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I 3,2; Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 1498-9.

<sup>135</sup> 'Guide-book propemptika': Quinn (1963) 240,2; 269,1. Lucilius' *Iter Siculum* (from Book III of the Satires) with Cichorius (1908) 251-61 (esp. 256-60), and Jäger (1913) 15-18; Parth. fr. 21 = *Suppl.Hell.* 639; Cinna fr. 1-5 Courtney with Jäger (1913) 19, and Henriksson (1956) 35f; Ov. *Am.* II 11,11-14. Rauk (above, n. 127), in a chapter on the "Itinerary Propemptikon", argues that it was "essentially Hellenistic and consisted of an erudite catalogue of places the parting traveller will visit" (Dissertation Abstracts).

<sup>136</sup> Puelma 293-6 calls *Iambus* VI a "Propemptikon, . . . in dem er dem Freund als baedekerartigen Wegweiser einen kurzen Ausschnitt aus seinem Reisetagebuch anbietet" (293), and does not differentiate between Callimachus' poem and "den Reisesatiren der beiden römischen Sermonendichter und jenen Episteln des Horaz . . ., worin er einem auf Reisen befindlichen oder abreisenden Freund über die letzten Neuigkeiten aus Kunst und Gesellschaft Auskunft erteilt, bzw. solche von jenem erbittet, oder aber konkrete Aufträge und Empfehlungen mitgibt" (296; cf. 76).

Comparison with other προπεμπτικά puts *Iambus* VI into perspective. As a προπεμπτικόν, it is so inadequate that it casts an odd light on its speaker. His theme is inappropriate, his information useless. The scholar's perverse bookishness stands out starkly against his friend's desire to see for himself.<sup>137</sup>

This argument has a loose plank. The propemptic scenario depends entirely on the *Diegesis*. Can we trust it, if the poem provides no confirmation? Not enough survives to discredit it, and it is not likely to be wrong on a point of fact. But even if we believe it (as, I think, we must), can we be sure that Callimachus flouted all generic expectations? What if the missing τόποι filled the lacunae? Even so, what we do have remains striking. But without the *Diegesis*, when would a reader notice? The later, I should think, the bigger the surprise.

The propemptic setting of *Iambus* VI draws attention to the strange inadequacy of what is being said. The scenario raises expectations which are not fulfilled. This interpretation of the form of the poem can be supported by a closer look at its content.

*Iambus* VI contains a description of a work of art.<sup>138</sup> What is its place in the history of ἐκφρασις?<sup>139</sup> The comparison of poetry

<sup>137</sup> Autopsy would not give you the measurements (unless the priests let you bring in a ladder), and they cannot replace it. Cf. above, at n. 114; Manakidou (1993) 241. Did Callimachus insist (as at fr. 178,32–4) that he was ναυτιλῆς νῆϊς, and had all he knew from books? Cf. Meillier (1979) 174f. Below, Ch. 10 n. 34.

<sup>138</sup> Picard (1945) 131; Clayman 34; Manakidou (1993) 238–42; 275f. Parodying Euhemerus' description of the temple of Zeus on Panchaea (above, Ch. 1 n. 79)?

<sup>139</sup> Fundamental: Friedländer (1969) 1–103 (with pp. 311\*–316\*), esp. 1–23. Cf. Geißler (1917); Downey (1959); J. Palm, 'Bemerkungen zur Ekphrase in der griechischen Literatur', *K. Hum. Vetenskaps-Samf. i Uppsala Årsbok*, 1965–6, 108–211 (*non vidi*); Hardie (1983) 119–36, esp. 128–36; D. P. Fowler (1991) has much recent literature; cf. G. Zanker (1981) 301, 14, and 305. See also Bömer on Ov. *Met.* II 1, and his introductory note on VI 70–102; Norden, introductory note on Verg. *A.* VI 14ff (with Heinze [1915] 396–403; Becker [1964]; Wilkinson [1969] 165–72); Bühler on Mosch. 2, pp. 85f. Rhetorical origin: Leo (1892–3); Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.*; Lohrlich (1905). Refuted: Friedländer (1969) IV; 39,1; 42,2; 54f; 72; 79; 60–9 (60f; 60f,3; 65,3; 66,3; 67,1; 68f) on Statius (cf. 102f,4); esp. 83–103. Cf. Geißler (1917); Fränkel (1945), 167–9,3; Curtius (1948) 155–75; Cameron (1970b) 253f; Elliger (1975) 25,81. Modern scholarship on the *Silvae*: Cancik (1965) 34–7;

and fine art, their different means and effects, has a long tradition.<sup>140</sup> Much of the modern debate is a footnote to Lessing's *Laokoon* (chs. 15–18, esp. 17–18), and Herder's reply in *Kritische Wälder. Erstes Wäldchen* (chs. 16–19, esp. 17).<sup>141</sup> I use Lessing and Herder as my starting-point.

A description of a work of art dissolves the visible artefact into a sequence of separate details. Lessing writes: "Die Zeitfolge ist das Gebiete des Dichters, so wie der Raum das Gebiete des Malers" (ch. 18).<sup>142</sup> Lessing concludes that literature is the proper instrument, not of "Schilderung" (depiction), but of presenting "Handlung" (action).

Lessing is not primarily interested in descriptive writing itself, in the means, effects, and possibilities of literary description as practised from Homer onwards. He does not embark on a detailed historical investigation of its types. He does not ask what there is, but whether it ought to be there. His analysis is not descriptive, but normative. His arguments are a priori. The *Laokoon* is neither a history, nor a typology of poetic description; it is a diatribe against "Schilderungssucht" (*Vorrede*).

It is as a mere by-product of his argument against the literary fashion of the day that Lessing then establishes a criterion of more or less successful description. The poet's domain is the representation of action, and descriptions will be best where they come closest to it: i.e., where they are least descriptive! In order to succeed, a description will have to turn its object into

less decisive Newmyer (1979) 6–9; 16–44 (esp. 38–40, and 43f). Cf. Hardie (1983) 91–102; 103–10 (cf. 130); esp. van Dam on Stat. *Silv.* II, pp. 5f (cf. 63–5; 91f; 190); also Cancik–van Dam (1986) 2701f. Nests of stereotypes: Apul. *Met.* II 4; Theodorus Prodromus, *Rhodanthe et Dosicles* IV 331–411; cf. Friedländer (1969) 47–55. Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece* 1366–1582.

<sup>140</sup> Perhaps back to Simonides: cf. Hor. *Ars* 361 *ut pictura poesis*, and Brink's introductory note on 361–5. The shared element seems to be ἀπάτη: Feeney (1991) 19,55. Cf. D.Chr. 12.

<sup>141</sup> See Friedländer (1969) 1f (on both). On the history of the problem, the contemporary debate on the *Laokoon*, and the vast literature on the subject, W. Barner's commentary in his new edition of Lessing for the *Bibliothek Deutscher Klassiker* provides helpful guidance. Cf. D. P. Fowler (1991) 26,5; Krieger (1992).

<sup>142</sup> D. P. Fowler (1991) 30. Cf. Klopstock, *Gelehrtenrepublik. Geschichte des letzten Landtages. Sechster Tag. Der Abend. Zur Poetik*: "Die Malerei zeigt ihre Gegenstände auf Einmal; die Dichtkunst zeigt sie in einer gewissen Zeit." Klopstock compares poetry, painting, music.

action.<sup>143</sup> Lessing's criterion of excellence is a mere extension of his case against description: you should not have it in the first place, but if you do, it should be as unlike itself as possible.

Lessing is not concerned with how the poet can describe. Nor does he deny that, indeed, he can.<sup>144</sup> But he ought not to, Lessing says. Description may not be impossible, but to ask how exactly it is possible, is a question of little interest: it will always be a dubious "Kunstgriff" (ch. 16), inadequate and inappropriate.

Herder attacks the corner-stone of Lessing's argument when, in ch. 17, he denies that the sequential character of language supports Lessing's conclusions. Poetry can, successively, build up a picture in our imagination. Herder writes in ch. 18: "Ich lerne von Homer, daß die Wirkung der Poesie nie aufs Ohr, durch Töne, nicht aufs Gedächtnis, wie lange ich einen Zug aus der Sukzession behalte, sondern auf meine Phantasie wirke". And in ch. 19: "Sie [= die Poesie] wirkt durch den Geist und nicht durch den sukzessiven Ton der Worte."

Who is right? Both, of course: poetry can do more than one thing. Some examples.

What Herder says is clearly true: the poet can (try to) create a mental image (which may still fall short of a precise picture). He can describe a number of individual scenes, and define their relative arrangement within a complex whole. Examples begin with the Hesiodic Shield, and continue until Claudian and beyond.<sup>145</sup> This is what Vergil does with his Shield.<sup>146</sup>

Furthermore, Lessing's use of Homer's Shield is rather odd. He makes much of the fact that Homer dissolves the fabric of the whole into its constituent parts, by describing the stages of

<sup>143</sup> This is the context in which, in ch. 18, Lessing praises Homer's Shield above Vergil's. Cf. Klopstock, loc. cit.: "Leblose Dinge sind nur dann der Darstellung fähig, wenn sie in Bewegung oder als in Bewegung gezeigt werden. . . . Wenn die leblosen Dinge nicht in Bewegung, oder als in Bewegung, gezeigt werden, so ist das, was alsdann von ihnen gesagt wird, bloß Beschreibung. Und durch diese darf der Dichter den Leser nur selten ausruhen lassen." See also his epigram *Beschreibung und Darstellung*.

<sup>144</sup> Although he is more dogmatic in ch. 17: see Herder, chs. 16, 18. Cf. Wieland, *Idris und Zenide* IV 13,4: "Er läßt den Fluß zurück, und tritt in einen Hain, | Den ich, weil Lessing mich beim Ohr zupft, nicht beschreibe."

<sup>145</sup> Cameron (1970b) 269-73; 294.

<sup>146</sup> Friedländer (1969) 19.

its fashioning. This is correct: Homer describes the forging of the weapons, Vergil the finished object.<sup>147</sup> However, this is just the narrative skeleton; it does not say very much about the descriptive passages themselves. Friedländer rightly observes “daß die Bewegung bei Homer wirklich nicht so sehr aus dem regelmäßig einleitenden ‘darauf machte er’ . . . resultiert, sondern viel stärker aus der Ruhelosigkeit der einzelnen Szenen”.<sup>148</sup>

And yet, this is precisely where Lessing has a point. Descriptions of images tend to present their object as a present event.<sup>149</sup> A simple example:<sup>150</sup>

χλαῖναν πορφυρέην οὔλην ἔχε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
διπλὴν· ἐν δ’ ἄρα οἱ περόνη χρυσοῖο τέτυκτο  
αὐλοῖσιν διδύμοισι· πάροιθε δὲ δαίδαλον ἦεν·  
ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἑλλόν,  
ἄσπαίροντα λάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,  
ὥς οἱ χρύσειοι ἔοντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,  
αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαῶς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσι.

Here, the image is turned into action (228f), and the action leads to a statement of motive and intent (230f). ‘Enlivening dynamization’ gives rise to a psychologizing interpretation of the imagined picture. This is the staple of ancient *ἔκφρασις*.<sup>151</sup>

Description turns the artefact into life, and stresses its life-likeness. Often, the vividness of the image is played off against its firmness and rigidity, e.g. by drawing attention to the visual effects of its material.<sup>152</sup> Compare the topsoil on Homer’s Shield:<sup>153</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Serv. D on Verg. *A.* VIII 825.

<sup>148</sup> Friedländer (1969) 19; cf. 31–8 on the “Prinzip des Nacheinander” in Herodotus, esp. 33f on Hdt. I 194 (ships on the Euphrates); II 96 (ships on the Nile); I 50 (Croesus’ golden lion); II 124 (the pyramids)—but no descriptions of pictures or images. Cf. Cancik (1965) 143: *Register* s.v. ‘Beschreibung: dramatische B.’

<sup>149</sup> For the opposite tendency “to depict what is living and moving in static terms”, see Cameron (1970b) 272f.

<sup>150</sup> Od. XIX 225–31; Friedländer (1969) 7.

<sup>151</sup> The best analysis: Friedländer (1969) 1f, esp. 2; 10f (Hes.); 12 (A.R.); 14 (Theoc.); 15 (Mosch.); 16f (Catul.); 18f (Verg.); 22 (Nonn.).

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Friedländer (1969) 2f; 10 (on Hes. *Sc.* 244); 20 (Verg.); also 14 (on descriptions of ornamental frames); Jenkyns (1982) 226–9.

<sup>153</sup> Il. XVIII 548f; cf. 561–5; 574; 577; *passim* in later examples (e.g. Stat.



ἡ δὲ μελαίνετ' ὀπισθεν, ἀρηρομένη δὲ ἔώκει,  
 χρυσεΐη περ ἑοῦσα· τὸ δὲ περί θάῦμα τέτυκτο.

The emphasis is on the craftsman's skill in emulating nature.

The description can narrate present, or anticipate (imminent) future action. This is frequently introduced by phrases like 'and you would think that *x* was about to happen'.<sup>154</sup> Compare the description of Crenaeus' shield, as he prepares to fight Hippomedon in the waters of Ismenus:<sup>155</sup>

Sidonis hic blandi per candida terga iuveni,  
 iam segura maris, teneris iam cornua palmis  
 non tenet, extremis adludunt aequora plantis;  
 ire putes clipeo fluctusque secare iuvenum.  
 adiuvat unda fidem, pelago nec discolor amnis.

The emphasis, here, is on the effect on the viewer's imagination (Herder's "Phantasie"; the quality, he calls "Kraft", or "Energie"). The power of art is ἐνάργεια. Perfect deception is the mark of consummate skill.<sup>156</sup>

The strategy of 'you would believe' is precisely how other descriptions try to convey an impression of the Zeus of Phidias.<sup>157</sup> Strabo imagines what would happen if ever he were to rise from his throne. Callimachus will have none of this. He offers the wrong kind of precision. His statue is static, its appearance reduced to a set of objective data: its measure-

*Theb.* I 547; IV 170f). On ἔώκει (ἐοικῶς, ἵκελος; very frequent in Hes. *Sc.*), see Bühler on Mosch. 2,47. Cf. Kassel (1983) 3.

<sup>154</sup> Frequent in Statius: Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* IX 337; cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* VI 104.

<sup>155</sup> Stat. *Theb.* IX 334-8. Line 338 stresses lifelikeness, again: "The water adds credence, nor is the river a different colour from the graven sea" (Dewar's translation; cf. his note).

<sup>156</sup> G. Zanker (1981); (1987) 39-54 (esp. 42-5; 52,30), and 55-112. Cf. Hunter (1983) 43-6; Friedländer (1969) 55-60 on epigram, esp. 56f on lifelikeness (cf. 63,1); Bömer, *Hermes* 80, 1952, 121f; Bühler on Mosch. 2, p. 96,7; Jenkyns (1982) 123-6. Less useful: B. H. Fowler (1989). Cf. Friedländer (1969) 26-31 (esp. 31) on Epich. Θεαροί (Ath. VIII 63 p. 362 B = no. XXV fr. 109-110 Olivieri = fr. 79-80 K.); Theoc. 15, with Gow's introduction (II 265f); Herod. 4, with the introductions by Headlam (xliiif) and Cunningham. Cf. G. Zanker (1987) 42-5.

<sup>157</sup> Above, n. 94. Its lifelikeness: *AP* XVI 81 = Overbeck no. 715 (cf. Ar.Byz. on Menander: T 83 K.-A.).

ments.<sup>158</sup> Where he gives life to the figures and lends them a voice, they, too, join in the game (42–4). In *Iambus VI*, the statue has no meaning (as opposed to the statue of Apollo in fr. 114<sup>159</sup>). This is what he calls ‘the god’ (37); this is what he tells his friend before his departure. The *ἐκφρασις* tradition confirms what was said about the propemptic setting.

*Iambus VI* combines two separate poetic traditions: the farewell-poem, and the description. The latter is misconceived, and inappropriate as part of the former. In either case, generic expectations are disappointed. The friend is treated with as much perverseness as the god. The strategy is consistent. *Kreuzung der Gattungen*<sup>160</sup> emphasizes the unity of design. Not the tone of friendship,<sup>161</sup> but the hilarious failure to speak like a friend lies at the heart of this poem. Again, the speaker is a source of amusement. Again, Callimachus laughs at himself.

All this is brought about with elegance, and economy. There is nothing odd in talking to a departing friend about the sights *en route*. It is hardly more than a manner of speaking to refer to the statue as ‘the god’. Callimachus takes a convention, pushes it to its limits, argues its consequences, and exposes its latent absurdities.

Compare the *Coma*. It is the tritest of conventions to cast the object of a dedication as speaker of its inscription. Callimachus fully unfolds the implied ‘I’ in a brilliant *tour de force*. The same mind is at work in *Iambus VI*—and in VII. Zeus was reduced to his corporeal dimensions by scholarly literal-mindedness. Hermes will tell us himself about his battered physique.

### Postscript

At the beginning of Wieland’s *Aristipp* (I 1, “Aristipp an Kleonidas in Cyrene”), the hero, aboard ship from Cyrene to Corinth, recalls the

<sup>158</sup> Manakidou (1993) 241f. Cf. Hdt. I 50? II 124? Friedländer (1969) 36; 41.

<sup>159</sup> Pfeiffer (1952); E. A. Schmidt (1990) 129; Clayman 35; cf. Cancik (1965) 69; 99; 108; nn. 25, and 74.

<sup>160</sup> W. Kroll (1924) 202–4; cf. *NJA* 37, 1916, 94.

<sup>161</sup> Puelma 293–6.

farewell from his friend (in propemptic language). In Olympia, he expects to find "ein Schauspiel . . ., das auf dem ganzen Erdboden einzig in seiner Art ist". Why did Cleonidas not come with him? For "aus der Welt zu gehen, ohne die *Olympischen Spiele* und den *Jupiter des Fidias* gesehen zu haben, wahrlich, da verlohnte sichs kaum der Mühe da gewesen zu seyn!" But, of course, what is all that against "den bloßen Schatten der schönen *Lycänion*" . . .

What does our sceptical hero expect to find in Olympia? The next letter (I 2, "An Aritades, seinen Vater") goes from Corinth to his father: "Meine Ungeduld nach dem herrlichen Schauspiel, das mich dort erwartet, nimmt mit jedem Tage zu; auch hoffe ich bey dieser in ihrer Art einzigen Gelegenheit interessante Bekanntschaften zu machen; was am Ende doch wohl der einzige wahre Vorteil ist, den ich von Olympia zurückbringen werde."

I 3 ("An Kleonidas") reports an erotic adventure in Corinth; I 4 ("An Demokles von Cyrene") is about the Games; and in I 5 ("An Kleonidas"), Aristippus gives a critical description of the famous statue. No, he says, "keine Beschreibung . . ., die am Ende doch nur auf ein Verzeichniß der unzähligen einzelnen Stücke und Theile hinauslaufen würde". Phidias was wise to keep his Zeus behind rails, and the visitors at some distance from the statue: "Er machte es ihnen dadurch unmöglich, so nahe hinzutreten, daß sie, anstatt den Götterkönig auf seinem Thron zu sehen, nur einen Haufen geschnittenes Elfenbein und gegossenes Gold zu sehen bekommen hätten." Detail detracts from the "Haupteffekt": "Denn bey einem Kunstwerke, wo am Ende doch alles auf eine gewisse Magie, und also auf *Täuschung* hinausläuft, muß man die Zuschauer nicht gar zu nahe kommen und zu gelehrt werden lassen." What matters is 'der Haupteindruck des herrlichen Ganzen'.

He acknowledges the effect of "dieses über allen Ausdruck große und reiche Kunstwerk, dem kein anderes in der Welt vergleichbar ist", and quotes *Iliad* I 528-30. But what is the source of this effect? He dismisses the traditional explanations, and comes up with this answer: "Glücklicher Weise brauchte ich nicht tief zu graben; . . . was ist denn die wahre Ursache, warum uns der Olympische Jupiter so gewaltig ergreift? Es ist, mit Erlaubniß zu sagen, nicht mehr und nicht weniger als—warum uns ein Elefant mehr Respekt gebietet als ein Stier—seine *kolossalische* oder vielmehr *titanische* Statur: denn bekannter Maßen war die ganze Familie des *Uranos* und der *Gea*, von welchen Jupiter wie alle übrigen Titanen abstammte, ein Riesengeschlecht von der ersten Größe." The mystery of the Zeus? Size. The statue is so big, because the god is born of Titans.

Wieland “versuchte, den Mythos mit einer trockenen, ja geradezu prosaischen Deutung zu entzaubern”.<sup>162</sup> The likeness is uncanny—but perhaps more easily explained than the influence of Bacchylides on Wagner,<sup>163</sup> or Callimachus on Pushkin.<sup>164</sup> Wieland could not know *Iambus VI*,<sup>165</sup> but he knew the passages in Lucian (whom he had translated) and Strabo. Strabo told him that there was a poem about the measurements by Callimachus, and he may have compared Pausanias.<sup>166</sup> Did he guess what Callimachus had done? Is that why his hero would give up the memory of the sight “nicht um die ganze *Cyrenaika*”? Is that why he says one should “die Zuschauer nicht gar . . . zu gelehrt werden lassen”? Not impossible, but perhaps rather unlikely.

Wieland’s preoccupation with detail and “Haupteindruck” reflects the arguments of Strabo, Lucian, and Pausanias against *μικρολογία*.<sup>167</sup> Their holistic mystification, it seems, provoked his sceptical humour; their scathing remarks about the *μετρήσαντες* stirred his wit. He apparently accepts their view that the “Haupteffekt” of the statue is more than its parts, but he does so only to deflate it. ‘Don’t bother about the detail—look at the whole: what a pile!’

Wieland takes his cue from the anti-Callimachean tradition, and is led in the direction of Callimachus. Latter-day *Geistesverwandtschaft* triumphs:<sup>168</sup> the pedants did not have the last word.

<sup>162</sup> Wannagat (1997) 28–37, at 34. [I am reminded of the aesthetic asserted in all seriousness by the younger Pliny, *Ep.* I 20,4f; but presumably we are meant to deflate Aristipp’s judgements with Ps.-Longin. 36,3f. L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>163</sup> M. L. West, *ZPE* 102, 1994, 6f; B. 18,1–15; Wagner, *Götterdämmerung* II 3.

<sup>164</sup> R. Führer, *ZPE* 109, 1995, 45f; *Hec.* fr. 74,21–8 Hollis; Pushkin, *Eugene Onegin* I 35.

<sup>165</sup> Only parts of lines 1 and 45f were known from quotations, and it was not clear that they came from the poem mentioned by Strabo.

<sup>166</sup> Strabo: above, n. 105. Pausanias: Wieland’s *Anmerkung* 18, and III *Anm.* 7.

<sup>167</sup> The connection is suggested by the context. Cf. Wieland’s *Anmerkung* 18. The notion itself occurs independently elsewhere. Cf. Goethe to Frau von Stein (“Martinach im Wallis den 6. Nov. [1779]. Abends”; in *Briefe aus der Schweiz. Zweite Abtheilung*): “Was soll ich Ihnen die Namen von den Gipfeln, Spitzen, Nadeln, Eis- und Schneemassen vorerzählen, die Ihnen doch kein Bild, weder vom Ganzen noch vom Einzelnen, in die Seele bringen.”

<sup>168</sup> *Epigr.* 23: *Aristipp* I 16; II 1; 2; 4; 7–12. Metrical art: Beißner (1954).

## *Iambus VII*

OF *Iambus VII*, very little survives. However, from the scanty remains, its central idea emerges quite clearly. One can even form some notion of its narrative style. With the help of the *Diegesis*, we can plot its basic shape. The result may not be a complete poem, but it gives us an important part of the Book.

*Iambi VI* and *VII* form a pair. Both are in the same metre (trim + ith),<sup>1</sup> and on the statue of a god: *VI* on the Zeus of Phidias at Olympia, *VII* on Hermes *Περφεραῖος* of Ainos. In *VI*, a chryselephantine sculpture in a pan-Hellenic sanctuary; in *VII*, the wooden image of a local deity, by a mythical sculptor (Epeios). *VI* gives the dimensions in detail, *VII* only the rough features. Olympian Zeus preserves remote silence. Thracian Hermes chatters away with garrulous loquacity.

This is important. In *Iambus VII*, Callimachus goes one step beyond *Iambus VI*. Olympian Zeus was presented as an artefact, but did not comment himself. Hermes *Περφεραῖος* introduces himself as a piece of wood. Silence is overcome. Here, the image speaks—and in *Iambus IX*, it will engage in conversation, and discuss its physical state.

One can hardly tell what happens after *VII*. For the middle part of the collection, the principles of arrangement remain largely obscure. The juxtaposition of *VI* and *VII*, however, appears significant. There were similar groups of statues in the *Aetia*.<sup>2</sup>

Both poems draw on traditional forms. *Iambus VI* looks to *ἐκφρασις* and *προπεμπτικόν*. *Iambus VII* develops the epigram-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Ch. 6 n. 2; D'Alessio 627, 113.

<sup>2</sup> Two statues of Hera in fr. 100–101; two statues of Apollo in fr. 114 (Massimilla on fr. 64). Cf. Artemis in fr. 31b–e (Pfeiffer II 108–11, with Massimilla's introductory note on fr. 35–8), and Athena in *Suppl.Hell.* 276 (+ fr. 667 Pf.); were both grouped together (Hollis, *CQ* 32, 1982, 117–20)? See Massimilla's introductory note on fr. 110.

matic convention of the speaking object.<sup>3</sup> (Was the metre used for inscribed poems?<sup>4</sup>)

Comparison with dedicatory epigrams shows what game Callimachus is playing. He pushes convention beyond its traditional limits. The conventional self-identification of the dedicated object turns into a full-scale *ῥῆσις* comprising the *γῶναι θεοῦ*, perhaps the *αἵτιον* of his cult title, and an 'aretalogy' of the divine speaker—elements typical of, e.g., the narrative hexameter hymn.<sup>5</sup>

The licence of literary convention is taken literally. Through *Kreuzung der Gattungen*, a new type of speaker is brought into the sphere of Iambic utterance. The stereotyped speaker of epi-

<sup>3</sup> Pfeiffer on 1f; Puelma 287; Dawson 82f; Howald-Staiger 349; Trypanis 134f; Fraser I 737; II 1035, 170; Herter (1973) 219, 26–9; Clayman 38. Cf. Picard (1942) 7f; Fuhrer (1992) 166, 641. The speaking object: Rose (1923); Burzachechi (1962); Raubitschek (1968); Ebert (1972) 22; D'Alessio 627, 114. Cf. the analytical table at *GVI* pp. XIX–XXI. Dialogue poems: fr. 114; *Iambus* IX; and dialogue epigrams (esp. *GVI* 1831–87). Pfeiffer on fr. 114, 4–17; Massimilla on fr. 64, 4–17; Rasche (1910); Ingrams (1967); Ebert (1972) 22; Kassel (1983), esp. 7f (VII); 8f (fr. 114); 9f (IX, and *AP* XII 143); 10f (dialogue epigrams). Conversations (sometimes reported) in Archilochus and Hipponax: West (1974) 32; Bowie (1986) 20 on Solon. Cf. Cameron 352f; Hughes 64f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the inscription *Ἑταιρίχος : Θῆ[ρων?]ος | Ἀρκὰς : πρόξεν[ος], | ἔγγονος : Πετήλο(υ) : ἀνέθ[η]κε | Νικόδαμος ἐποίησε* (ed. H. Pomtow, *BPhW* 29/8, 20 Feb. 1909, 254: "etwa 380–360 v. Chr."). Crönert (1909) 152 ("400–360 a") thought it began with trim + ith:

*Ἑταιρίχος Θῆ[ρων]ος | Ἀρκὰς πρόξεν[ος], |*  
*ἔγγονος Πετήλο*  
*ἀνέθ[η]κε. | Νικόδαμος ἐποίησε.*

Cf. *SIG* 139; Bousquet (1949) 106, 2; R. Flacelière, *Fouilles de Delphes* III iv (Paris 1954), 261: no. 199. A re-edition produced some changes (J. Bousquet, *BCH* 78, 1954, 432f; cf. *SEG* 14, 1957, 95f: no. 455): *Ἑταιρίχου Θι[σοῦ]ος* in 1; *πρόξεν[ος]* in 2; *-μος : ἐπ-* in 5. Above 1, Bousquet discovered traces of writing: "on découvre sans peine audessus les traces, difficiles à interpréter, mais évidentes . . . d'une ligne où devait se trouver le nom du personnage honoré, dont *Ἑταιρίχου* est le patronymique". He concludes: "on lira donc, sans faire de l'inscription une épigramme métrique (trimètre iambique + ithyphallique, s'imaginait Crönert) . . .". Cf. Hansen (1985) 37: no. 2358 "not metrical". How certain is the new supplement? Necessarily unmetrical? There is nothing to establish the quantity of the *ι* in *Θι[σοῦ]ος*, or to show that Bousquet's new line was not verse. Of course, if it was the first line, the form changes.

<sup>5</sup> Pfeiffer on 1f.

grammatical convention appears as the individualized speaker of the Iambus. The talking statue is given new life.

Too much is lost to go beyond general impressions, but the central poetic idea seems clear: an unlikely speaker talking about things that concern him closely. The wooden statue has a personality. We see its character emerge not only from its own story, but presumably also through its own way of telling that story (as an Iambus). Compare the *Coma*.

And yet, in *Iambus* VII, Callimachus does not go all the way. An Iambus needs a speaker, and an addressee. *Iambi* I–VI all have their distinct dramatic setting. *Iambus* VII is a monologue, the addressee left implicit, like the anonymous reader of epigram. Why? Why not have a proper dialogue, as with Delian Apollo in fr. 114,<sup>6</sup> or the ithyphallic Hermes of *Iambus* IX?<sup>7</sup>

There will be a dialogue with a statue, but not before IX. The sequence of the poems articulates a gradual progression. In I–IV, the poet's voice slowly emerged from initial silence, behind the mask of tradition, through lonely prayer, into open confrontation. Here, Zeus is silent, Hermes chatty—and finally conversational.

The poem is in tatters, but the *Diegesis* provides a guide. Words, lines, and sections can be related to the summary. This will shed light on the detail, and give an idea of the piece as a whole (*Dieg.* VII 32—VIII 20):

Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνίων θεός | Περφεραῖος Ἑρμῆς ἐν Αἴνῳ τῇ |  
 πόλει τῆς Θράκης τιμᾶται ἐντεῦθεν· Ἐπειδὴ πρὸ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου  
 ἐδημιούργησεν Ἑρμᾶν, ὃν ὁ Σκάμανδρος πολὺς | ἐνεχθεὶς κατέσυρεν· ὁ δ'  
 ἐντεῦθεν προσῆλθέη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἴνῳ θάλασσαν, ἀφ' ἧς | ἀλιευόμενοί τινες  
 ἀνείλκυσαν αὐτὸν τῇ | σαγήνῃ. ὅτε ἐθεάσαντο αὐτόν, καταμεμψάμενοι τὸν  
 βόλον πρὸς ἀλέαν σχίζειν τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαίειν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν, | οὐδὲν  
 δὲ {ἦττον} ἔφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὦμον παΐσαντες τραύματος τύπον ἐργάσασθαι,  
 διαμπερὲς δὲ ἡσθένησαν· καὶ ὅλον αὐτὸν καίειν | ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῷ  
 περιέρρει· ἀπειπόντες κατέρριψαν αὐτόν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὶς  
 ἐδικτυούλκησαν, θεὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῷ προσήκοντα καθιδρύσαντο ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ, | ἀπήρξαντό τε τῆς ἄγρας ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου |  
 αὐτὸν πε[ριφέρω]ν. τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος εἰ[σεδέξαν]το τῇ πόλει καὶ  
 παρα[π]λησίως τ[οῖς θεοῖς] ἐτίμων.

<sup>6</sup> Kassel (1983) 9; Massimilla's introductory note on fr. 64,4–17.

<sup>7</sup> Below, Ch. 8.

For *Iambus* VII, the *Diegesis* is comparatively long. However, this is a summary of the story, not an analysis of the poem. The *Diegesis* recounts the legend of Hermes *Περφεραῖος* of Ainos. The first words after the incipit introduce the αἴτιον of his local cult: τιμᾶται ἐντεῦθεν (*Dieg.* VII 34–VIII 1).<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the match between poem and *Diegesis* is rather close. This is remarkable in itself: it reflects the narrative character of the poem. A story was told, and we know what it was. We do not know how it was told, or how its teller presented himself.

Some textual difficulties. In 7, Latte's πρὸς ἀλέαν (for προσνεαν) is convincing.<sup>9</sup> In 9, Herzog deleted ἦττον; in the margin of his copy, Eduard Fraenkel noted his approval: "recte (cf. ἦτον sequens)". This gives a good text.<sup>10</sup> οὐδέν is parallel to ἐργάσασθαι, 'they achieved nothing but to make the dent of a wound' (or: 'the mere semblance of a wound'?).

Alternatively, one could change ἦττον to πλέον (Wifstrand). Confusion of opposites is a common source of corruption.<sup>11</sup> Pfeiffer follows the papyrus,<sup>12</sup> but with misgivings (as his query shows). He presumably understands 'and they did achieve nothing less than = did indeed manage to . . .'. This gives the wrong emphasis: διαμπερὲς δὲ ἡσθένησαν (10f), "they were unable to split it right through",<sup>13</sup> requires a preceding clause stressing how *little* they achieved.

Much depends on the supplement in 18. Herzog's αὐτὸν πε[ριφέρω]ν suggests an etymological αἴτιον of the name

<sup>8</sup> Cf. ἐντεῦθεν in *Dieg.* VIII 29 (on *Iambus* VIII; below, Ch. 8, at n. 9), IX 2 (on X), and 15 (on XI). Puelma 288,2; Herter (1937) 166. For a possible parallel to this story, see L. Lehnus, *Paideia* 45, 1990, 281–6; Massimilla on fr. 58.

<sup>9</sup> πρὸς αἶσαν E. Orth, *BPhW* 56/7–8, 22 Feb. 1936, 223.

<sup>10</sup> φθάνω with infinitive: LSJ III.3 "of actions which one *manages* to do". Common in later Greek: Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 6 "attain, achieve".

<sup>11</sup> Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 264–6.

<sup>12</sup> So does Gallavotti 52; he translates: ". . . tuttavia riuscirono coi loro colpi a fargli soltanto uno sfregio nella spalla . . ." (83). <πλ>ἦττον<τες> Schwartz; cf. Herter (1937) 166.

<sup>13</sup> Trypanis 133. The phrase has proved difficult: "and they continued unable (to split it)" Dawson 75; "e già erano stanchi" Gallavotti 83; "che già si erano stancati" D'Alessio 625; "wurden sie gelähmt" Howald–Staiger 349; "dabei wurden sie ganz schwach" H. A. Cahn, *SNR* 31, 1944, 60. But see LSJ διαμπερὲς I.1 "of Place, *through and through, right through*", and ἀθενέω 3 "c.inf., *to be too weak* to do a thing, *not to be able* . . ." sc. παίειν, τύπτειν. [One might have expected διαμπερὲς δὲ κόπτειν. L.A.H.-S.]



Περφεραῖος.<sup>14</sup> With παρ' ἄλλου (17), πα[ραλαβώ]ν might be easier, but the trace after π is the upper left-hand arc of a rounded letter.<sup>15</sup>

19 alternatively εἰ[σ]ηνέγκαν]το. 19f παρα[π]λησίως (*sic*) with τ[οῖς θεοῖς] is rather loose: he is a god, after all. Or was the point that the log was treated like the gods? τ[ῶ Ἑρμῇ] (Maas) is diagnostic, but too short, τ[ῶ χρέσαντι] too long; but τ[οῖς ἰδίοις] (Latte), or τ[οῖς ἄλλοις] would do.

On the papyri of the poem itself, see the Excursus above. Lines 11–25 and '39–51' survive in two adjacent columns on one piece of papyrus (*POxy.* IV 661). The upper part of this fragment is lost, and with it the beginnings of the two columns. There is, therefore, a lacuna after 25. For *Iambus VII*, no more than the top of one column is missing. However, we do not know the number of lines per column. This means that the lacuna is of indeterminate length. Pfeiffer's numeration may well be wrong.<sup>16</sup>

In the opening lines, the speaker introduces himself (1–6):

Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Π]ερφεραῖος, Αἰνίων θεός,  
 ἔμμι τῷ φ]υγαίχμα  
 .....] πάρεργον ἵπποτέκτον[ος·  
 .....] γὰρ [ῶ]νήρ  
 .....] κέπαρνον αἰδ[  
 .....] πται·

5

<sup>14</sup> Pfeiffer on 1f; D'Alessio 624f (cf. 627, 114). No ancient evidence for the etymology. Plausible that Hermes had a ἱερόν on the shore (*Dieg.* VIII 15f) and was περιφερόμενος (17f) and received in the city (18–20)? A πομπή with bathing ceremony (Bulloch on *Lav. Pall.*, pp. 8–10; West [1997] 37, 147)? Apotropaic περιφοραί are more easily documented for Byzantine Greece (and the Christian West) than from antiquity. Cf. Hdt. I 84, 3; Graf (1997) 469; Themelis (1994) 115f (I owe this reference to Professor R. C. T. Parker).

<sup>15</sup> αὐτῷ π[ροσελθών] Norsa-Vitelli; αὐτον πε[ Maas (Pfeiffer [1934b] 29). Pfeiffer (*ibid.*) considers περιδραμών and περιελθών. περιέρχομαι τινα, 'encompass' (of fire, sound, etc.), is difficult; περιτρέχω τινά, 'run round', does not suit παρ' ἄλλου. ἀπήρξαντο (17) suggests αὐτῷ πρ[ωτοθύω]ν. But the verb is not attested (nor likely in itself), the space too wide for ω, the arc too big for ρ, and enough of the surface intact for part of its upright to be visible; one would also expect ἀπ' ἄλλου.

<sup>16</sup> Above, Excursus, following n. 15. Pfeiffer II 118, and (1934b) 23–30, at 25f. In general: Maass (1923), obsolete; Holland (1925), against Maass; Puelma 287–9; Clayman 35–8.

The text of 1 is known from the incipit of the *Diegesis* (VII 32). The whole opening couplet is quoted by Hephaestion as an example of trim + ith.<sup>17</sup>

The speaker is Hermes:<sup>18</sup> Hermes *Περφεραῖος* of Thracian Ainos.<sup>19</sup> Ainos is an Aeolic foundation, and Hermes gives his literary Doric an Aeolic *Kolorit*.<sup>20</sup> Identification shades into characterization. Note the self-depreciatory tone in 2f: the god

<sup>17</sup> Pfeiffer; see his apparatus for Wilamowitz's brilliant restoration. Why does Hephaestion pick *Iambus* VII? VI is in the same metre, and he normally quotes first instances. Did he read the *Iambi* in a different arrangement?

<sup>18</sup> For *Ἐρμῆς*, see Pfeiffer on fr. 221. Reflected in *Dieg.* VIII 2; cf. 14, with lines 46 and 49 of the poem; Herter (1937) 166; above, Ch. 5 n. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Pfeiffer's notes, and II 118. *Περφεραῖος*: Pfeiffer (1934b) 30; Picard (1942) 9–11; H. A. Cahn, *SNR* 31, 1944, 60; Gallavotti 53; Dawson 81; van Windekens (1957); Secci (1957) 844–6, and (1959), esp. 84–97, at 86–8; Fraser II 1035, 170; Herter (1973) 219, 32–5; D'Alessio 627, 114. Coins: Picard (1942); H. A. Cahn, *SNR* 31, 1944, 59–63; Lacroix (1949) 44–54; May (1950) 272–4; Siebert (1990) 294f (I.B.5, with picture 5a at V 2, p. 198). Parallels: Ch. Picard, *RA* VI 18, 1941, 270f; H. A. Cahn, *SNR* 31, 1944, 62, 8a; Bousquet (1949); Dawson 82; J. Kroll (1963); Fraser I 737; II 1036, 171–2; Herter (1973) 219, 36–48; Clayman 36; D'Alessio 624f, 112; Faraone (1992) 105. Cf. Eus. *PE* V 36, 1–4 = Oenom. fr. 13 (Hammerstaedt [1988] 96f; 225–8; 305–7).

<sup>20</sup> 1; 2; 14; 39; 40; 42; 46; 48; 50 (?); Pfeiffer's apparatus on 42; D'Alessio 627, 113. [*Dato non concesso* that Callimachus was reproducing the local dialect, it was heavily Doricized Aeolic: initial  $\theta$  for  $\phi$  in *θηρίον* l. 21, West Greek  $\epsilon\nu\theta$ - for  $\epsilon\lambda\theta$ - ll. 46, 48, are wrong for Aeolic, though not for a mixed dialect. That would not be surprising for mainland Aeolic: *ποτί* (37) is Thessalian and Boeotian as well as West Greek;  $\xi$  in the aroist of  $-\acute{\iota}\omega$ , if that is what we have in 40, is West Greek, but is also Thessalian and competes with  $\tau\tau$  in Boeotian. At 45, *οἶ*, if marked for dialect, is good Aeolic (though Boeotian has *τοῖ* > *τύ*); at 46 *τύ* is Boeotian (*τού*) as well as West Greek. L.A.H.-S.] Cyrenaean influence: Pfeiffer (1934b) 25; Herter (1937) 166, and (1973) 219, 23; Dawson 81. Cf. Buck (1946); above, Ch. 6 n. 118. The dialect unsuitable for Ionic metre? The god for fishermen? For the shape of the line, cf. Hippon. fr. 72, 7 W.; S. *El.* 706. Ainos: Il. IV 520; according to later tradition, named *a socio Ulixis illic sepulto*: Call. fr. 697 Pf. = Euph. fr. 62 P. = Serv. *A.* III 16. Also in Euph. [*Τππ*]ομέδων Με[ι]ζων (*Suppl.Hell.* 416). Was his source an Aristotelian *Constitution* (*Suppl.Hell.* 454, 5 Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Αἰνίων πολιτείαι; *POxy.* XXX 2527, with West, *CR* 16, 1966, 24; Herter [1973] 219, 31f)? Clayman thinks that "the location of the action, at Ainos, is perhaps intended as a pun on the genre (194.6)" (36). Ptolemaic connections: H. A. Cahn, *SNR* 31, 1944, 61f; Fraser II 1035, 170; Bagnall (1976) 159–68 (administration), and 206–10 (coinage). Callimachus' interest in Thrace: Cameron 211f, esp. 212. His travels: Cameron 210–13; below, Ch. 10 n. 34.

is not only the work of a mortal, but a mere *πάρεργον* of a *φυγάχμας*.<sup>21</sup> In 3, the *πάρεργον* is elegantly juxtaposed to the *chef-d'œuvre*: Epeios is known first and foremost for the Trojan Horse. At the same time, *ἵπποτέκτων* explains the taunt: his was a victory, not of valour, but deceit.<sup>22</sup>

At the beginning of the line, Maas tried *ἐκ Φωκίδος* (too long). Balance and word order suggest an epithet for *πάρεργον*. *ἐϋκλέες* would suit space and context.

Were the two works compared? Epeios, the *Diegesis* says, made the Hermes before the Horse.<sup>23</sup> Was this explained before, with *Σκάμανδρος ἀγριωμένος* (13; cf. *Dieg.* VIII 2f), Hermes reaches his own story?

Hephaestion used this couplet as an example—although the sentence runs on at least to the end of 3. *Iambus* VI seems to have begun with a series of end-stopped couplets; more complex structures are left until later. This suggests that *Iambus* VI was designed to introduce the metre, and *Iambus* VII intended to follow it.

Both poems begin by introducing a local variant of an Olympian god (Zeus of Elis, Hermes of Ainos). Both are interested, not in the deities, but in the statues, and their mortal makers (Phidias, Epeios). Both treat the gods as artefacts. The start of VII closely resembles that of VI, and the similarities show up the differences: here, the god himself is speaking, and the addressee is left implicit.

A new sentence (or parenthesis?) in 4, if *γάρ* is read correctly. (I cannot verify it.) What did it explain? Perhaps *πάρεργον*, with modesty turning into pride: 'I am only a *πάρεργον*, (not because I am nothing special, but) because my maker is so clever with the axe (that he has done even greater things)', e.g. *δεξιὸς γὰρ [ὦ]νήρ* (Maas).<sup>24</sup> After this, an infinitive at the start of 5?<sup>25</sup> Or an

<sup>21</sup> Kassel (1983) 12; Picard (1942) 11f; Manakidou (1993) 247f.

<sup>22</sup> Epeios the coward: Pfeiffer's note, and (1934b) 29f; Picard (1942); Overbeck (1868) 35 (nos. 224–6); D'Alessio 627, 114. See Il. XXIII 670; Pl. *R.* 620 c 1f; Cratin. test. 15 K.–A.

<sup>23</sup> *Dieg.* VIII 1f: *Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρείου ἵππου ἐδημιουργήσεν Ἑρμῶν*—but, it seems, already at Troy, whence the Scamander swept it off to Thrace (ibid. 2f).

<sup>24</sup> Or because the Horse was fashioned *ὦν Ἀθήνη* (Od. VIII 493)?

<sup>25</sup> *πάλλειν*, *χείειν*, both too short: one would expect *hepthemimeres*, not *penthemimeres*, after *σκέπαρνον* (cf. 3).

epithet for *σκέπαρνον*,<sup>26</sup> with the infinitive coming later? High stop suggests period in 6.

What follows, is darkness visible (7–12):

|                   |    |
|-------------------|----|
| ]οἱ βα[.] .ά....[ |    |
| ]..[              |    |
| ]                 | [  |
| ]                 | [  |
|                   | 10 |
| ] .ἦντο καποτη.[  |    |
| ] .μα ..τα· [     |    |

Epeios and his works?

More light in the lines before the lacuna (13–25):

|                           |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| ]ο Κάμα[ν]δρος ἀγριωμένος |    |
| ]ξάερας                   |    |
| ]ν κατὰ ῥόον              | 15 |
| ]                         |    |
| ]ι με δικτύοις            |    |
| ]                         |    |
| ]ον, ὦ Παλαίμονες         |    |
| . . . . ]                 | 20 |
| . [ ]το θηρίον·           |    |
| ο[ ]                      |    |
| [ ]ον, ὦ Παλαίμονες       |    |
| ω[ ]                      |    |
| οᾰ[ ] ἄπωθε τὸν φθόρον    | 25 |
| vv. 26–38 <i>desunt</i>   |    |

For raging Scamander (13), compare the *Diegesis*: . . . Ἑρμᾶν, ὃν ὁ Κάμανδρος πολὺς | ἐνεχθεὶς κατέκυρεν (VIII 2f). Hermes has reached his own story. The stream ‘carries [him] off’ (14).<sup>27</sup> He is swept ‘down stream’ (15),<sup>28</sup> towards Ainos, where fishermen caught ‘me in their nets’ (17).<sup>29</sup> The *Diegesis* provides the

<sup>26</sup> *ἐύξοον* (Od. V 237; too short); *ἀμφίξοον* (AP VI 205,9, with Gow–Page on HE 2000; a little long, but perhaps justified by Maas’s Law).

<sup>27</sup> *ἐ]ξάερας*: Pfeiffer’s apparatus, and his note; *μ’ ἐ]ξάερας* Puelma 311,3. For Sappho and Alcaeus, cf. E.–M. Voigt’s index s.v. *ἀέρρω*.

<sup>28</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus; *κάββαλε]ν κατὰ ῥόον* Puelma 311,3 (other suggestions in the wrong metre, unmetrical, or both). Prosody: Kassel (1986) 121; Bulloch on *Lav.Pall.* 77 *ποτὶ ῥόον*; West (1974) 114; above, Ch. 5 n. 94 on V 28 *περὶ νύσση*.

<sup>29</sup> *με* indicates the beginning of a clause (Wackernagel’s Law). Subject + object + instrument in the trimeter, predicate in the ithyphallicus?

context: ὁ δ' ἐντεῦθεν προσῆλνέχθη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἴνῳ θάλασσαν, ἀφ' ἧς | ἀλιευόμενοί τινες ἀνείλκυσαν αὐτὸν τῇ | σαγήνῃ (VIII 3–6).

Lines 19–25 look like the words of disappointed fishermen. Pfeiffer detects the first traces of the fishermen's reaction to their catch in 21 θηρίον and 25 φθόρον.<sup>30</sup> 19 ὦ Παλαίμονες ought to be included.<sup>31</sup> The cry recurs in 23, and there is no reason to separate the first occurrence from the second. It suits the surprised fishermen better than the narrator. For their reaction, compare again the *Diegesis*: ὅτε ἐθεάσαντο αὐτόν, καταμемψάμενοι τὸν βόλον πρὸς ἀλέαν χιίζειν τε αὐτόν καὶ παρακαίειν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν, | οὐδὲν δὲ {ῆττον} ἔφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὦμον παίλσαντες τραύματος τύπον ἐργάσασθαι, διαμπερὲς δὲ ἡσθένησαν (VIII 6–11).

Their disdain is still discernible from the fragments, but their fire-making is lost. After 25, the text breaks off. In the missing passage, the fishermen must have tried (and failed) to turn their catch into firewood (*Dieg.* VIII 6–11)—but how was that told?<sup>32</sup>

The text resumes with the thirteen line-beginnings preserved in column ii of *POxy.* 661 ('39–51'):

|                      |      |
|----------------------|------|
| ποτ' ἀστέρας βλεπ    |      |
| καὶ τύχαμπυριξ[      | '40' |
| ἔληγ' ὁ μῦθος κα[    |      |
| πυρδάνω 'πὺ λεπ[τῶ·  |      |
| κῆγὼ 'π' ἐκείναν [   |      |
| ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐπωδα[ῖς· |      |
| οἱ δ' εἶπαν [...]    | '45' |

<sup>30</sup> Pfeiffer on 21: "fort. verba piscatorum a Mercurio relata (ut v. 39 sq., 45 sq.)"; cf. on 25. He compares the surprised satyrs in A. Δικτυουλκοί fr. 46a R.

<sup>31</sup> Pfeiffer; D'Alessio 627, 115; for the grammatical doctrine on ὦ and ὦ, see Wilamowitz, *GGA* 166/8, 1904, 668, and Dawson 79. The papyrus has ὦ both times.

<sup>32</sup> Could fr. 209 and 212 belong here? Snell, *Gnomon* 15, 1939, 535f, considers fr. 221, writing αἰτῶμες (535,4): "es wäre nicht ohne Witz, wenn Kallimachos sie hätte sagen lassen: wir beten um Klugheit, die Gabe des Hermes, wie wir das Brett loswerden können" (536). Cf. *Epigr.* 48,1. [Why West Greek -μες for Aeolic -μεν? Agreed that we require a subjunctive, in West Greek we expect not -ῶ- but -έω- (albeit monosyllabic) or -ίω-; the latter also in Boeotian, but Lesbian and Thessalian αἵτημι should retain -ῆ-: αἵτημεν *bzw.* αἵτήομεν? L.A.H.-S.]

μὴ τὺ γ' αὖτις ἐνθ[ης]."  
 ἦ, καί με πόντον [  
 ἦνθε σαυνιαστὰ[ς.  
 ἔρριψαν, αὖθι δ' ἐξ ἀλὸ[ς  
 π[.]ρβαλον κατάγρ[ '50'  
 ἐ[κ] τᾶς θαλάσσης τ[

The corresponding section of the *Diegesis*: καὶ ὅλον αὐτὸν καίειν | ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῷ περιέρρει· ἀπει|πόντες κατέρριψαν αὐτὸν | εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖτις ἐδικτυούλκησαν, . . . (VIII 11–14).

Lines 39f are the end of a speech: ἔλγῃ' ὁ μῦθος (41).<sup>33</sup> The speaker will be one (or several) of the fishermen: 41f seem to recount their doings; 43f turn to Hermes' reaction; 45f add the fishermen's reply. Are they uttering 39f as they try to burn the log (*Dieg.* VIII 11f)?

At the end of 39, the photographs confirm λ, and exclude α, δ. Among supplements, a form of βλέπω seems the most likely. If the line is part of the fishermen's speech (quoted by Hermes), the question is: who is looking? Perhaps the speaker(s), βλέπωμεν, raising their eyes in prayer?<sup>34</sup> Or Hermes, βλέπε, at the point of death?<sup>35</sup> And does ποτ' ἀστέρας reflect that the scene is taking place *sub divo*, on the shore, and by night?

In 40, Wilamowitz tried "καὶ τύχ' ἀμπυρίξας (es gelang ihm Feuer zu machen?)".<sup>36</sup> After ξ, α is difficult.<sup>37</sup> The narrative statement hardly suits the speech.<sup>38</sup> The indicative aorist should produce καῖτυχ(ε).

E. Maass took τύχε as imperative aorist.<sup>39</sup> With intransitive ἀναπυρίζω ('catch fire'), this would give the threat Pfeiffer is

<sup>33</sup> Pfeiffer on 40; differently Puelma 311,3. Cf. D'Alessio 629 for 39–51.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. e.g. Il. XVI 232; W. Kroll on Catul. 66,89.

<sup>35</sup> Above, Ch. 1 n. 173. Present differs little in sense from aorist (Ar. *Av.* 175). Barber, *CR* 5, 1955, 242, suggests ποτ' ἀστέρας [ βλέποντα . . ., "supinum (deponam)". Cf. Pfeiffer's note and apparatus.

<sup>36</sup> Wilamowitz, *GGA* 166/8, 1904, 667f, at 668.

<sup>37</sup> Grenfell-Hunt on *POxy.* IV 661,17: "?αμπυρίξα[ς, but the vestiges of the letter following ξ do not suggest α, though that letter cannot be said to be impossible"; cf. pl. V, and Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>38</sup> Pfeiffer: "quod Wil. tentavit, significare potest: 'effecit ut ignem accenderet', sc. unus piscatorum, at hoc orationi (v. 41) vix convenit; immo minari videtur aliquis iratus: 'et . . . cremabo' aut 'et tu ardebis', tum ὅλον αὐτὸν καίειν ἐπεχείρουν *Dieg.* VIII 11 sq."

<sup>39</sup> Maass (1923) 176; cf. Pfeiffer (1934b) 28,1; Dawson 79 on 27.

looking for: 'do catch fire'.<sup>40</sup> If transitive ('kindle'), perhaps one fisherman addressing another: 'and succeed in burning it'? However, the periphrastic imperative seems strange.

The most promising suggestion on record is that of E. A. Barber:<sup>41</sup>

ποτ' ἀστέρας βλ[έποντα . . .  
καὶ τύχα ἔμπυρίζω

39 supinum (deponam).      40 sc. τύχη (ἀγαθῇ) ἔμπυρίζω.

Again, a fisherman's threat: 'I [put you] down on the ground, and with luck I burn you'.

Hermes marks the end of the speech,<sup>42</sup> and tells what his captors did next: they tried to burn him. 'And he/they took a torch', 'tried to set light to me', 'threw me into the fire'?<sup>43</sup>

For *πύρδανον*, Hesychius gives three interpretations: (i) small wood for burning; (ii) coal, ember; (iii) kitchen, stove for cooking.<sup>44</sup> The singular seems to exclude the meaning 'embers', and on the shore, a stove is less plausible than firewood.

The preposition appears to be ἀπύ (for ἀπό). Wilamowitz tried *πυρδάνω* ἔπι λεπ[τῷ].<sup>45</sup> The papyrus does have *πυρδανωιπυ*, but according to Pfeiffer, the ι is cancelled. (It is impossible to see this on the available photographs: there may be a dot, or even a stroke.) In any case, mistaken addition of ι adscript to η/ω is very frequent. It seems less likely that someone should write ἐπύ for ἐπί. ἀπύ is the right dialect,<sup>46</sup> and it makes sense. 'He tried to set light to me from some tinder'?

<sup>40</sup> The verb is attested only here. Cf. Gow's apparatus on Theoc. 2,24, and his note (on the transitive and intransitive use of similar verbs).

<sup>41</sup> Barber, *CR* 5, 1955, 242. Gallavotti, *PP* 5, 1950, 91: "io credo ad ogni modo che il verso καὶ τύχαμπυρίζ . [ vada inteso καὶ (κατ) τύχαν πυρίζ . [ , oppure corretto con τάχ(α) e inteso καὶ τάχ' ἄμπυρίζει (anche ἀπ-πυρ.) opp. -ξεις, se non τάχ' ἄν πυρίζαι." Cf. D'Alessio 628, 116. Or καὶ τύ κ(ε) ἄ . . . ?

<sup>42</sup> A strange formula: nothing similar in Führer (1967); see esp. 36–44.

<sup>43</sup> κα[ί] μ' ἔθηκαν Puelma 311,3. κα[ί] μ' ἐκαίετο φλογί—? But change from imperfect to aorist would be good ('he had hardly finished speaking, . . .'): K.–G. I 143f; Denniston 293 (10) for καί.

<sup>44</sup> Hsch. π 4410 Schmidt *πύρδαλον* ὀψοποιεῖον, ὀπτανεῖον. καὶ τὸ καύσιμον φρύγανον, ἢ ξύλον. ἢ μαγειρεῖον. ἢ λείψανον. οἱ δὲ *πύρδανον*; 4411 Schmidt *πύρδανα* τὰ λείψανα. καὶ τὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ πυρός. Cf. Pfeiffer; LSJ.

<sup>45</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; cf. Dawson 78 on 29.

<sup>46</sup> ἀπύ with the dative in Arcado-Cyprian: Schwyzler I 82; 88. Not relevant here.

The following couplet (43f) describes the reaction of the wooden deity. 'And I [defended myself] against that [fire] by my incantations.'<sup>47</sup> The log escapes the flames: τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῷ περιέρρει (*Dieg.* VIII 12).

ἐπωδή is the standard term for a magic spell.<sup>48</sup> These incantations are revealed by the gods, and Hermes in particular is worshipped as πομπὸς ἐπωδῶν.<sup>49</sup> Magic can be used for apotropaic purposes, *inter alia* against fire.<sup>50</sup> (Are Hermes' ἐπωδαί a pun on the ἐπωδὸς στίχος?<sup>51</sup>)

In 45f, the fishermen speak again: '[we shall throw you away—] don't come back again'.<sup>52</sup> Their speech ends,<sup>53</sup> and they throw him into the sea (47).<sup>54</sup> In 48, a spearfisher arrives: "supplementum *καυνιαστῆς* [c (Gr.-H.) dubium et constructio obscura".<sup>55</sup> Does the sentence from 47 continue in 49, with 48 in parenthesis?<sup>56</sup> The harpooner would be the right man to send the recalcitrant god on his way.<sup>57</sup>

In 49–51, the fishermen cast the log adrift, only to catch it

<sup>47</sup> ἐκείναν may have a point of reference, like φλόγα, in 41 (Pfeiffer on 43; Puelma 311,3). ἐπ' ἐκείναν 'I turned against it', or ἀπ' ἐκείναν "ma io da quelle (fiamme mi difendevo)" (Gallavotti 83; cf. Dawson 78 on 30).

<sup>48</sup> LSJ I. See Pfister (1924); Graf (1997) 463. Frequent in the magical papyri.

<sup>49</sup> Pfister (1924) 339f. Hermes as *carminum vector*: Apul. *Apol.* 31 (p. 37,19 Helm). Gods using magic: A. *Eu.* 307–96. *Iambus* VII is about Hermes the magician, *Iambus* IX about his mystic interests (*Dieg.* VIII 38).

<sup>50</sup> Pfister (1924) 325,16–20; 333f. Cf. *AP* I 101; *LXX Da.* 3, esp. 49f, and 92–4. If πε[ριφέρω]ν is correct in *Dieg.* VIII 18, it suggests a procession for protection against fire. Faraone (1992) on apotropaic statues.

<sup>51</sup> If so, this would be the earliest occurrence: LSJ II.

<sup>52</sup> *Dieg.* VIII 12–14.

<sup>53</sup> On ᾗ, see Pfeiffer's apparatus, and (1934b) 28; Wilamowitz, *GGA* 166/8, 1904, 668; Dawson 79 on 34.

<sup>54</sup> Pfeiffer I 505 on Diehl's πόντον[δ].

<sup>55</sup> Pfeiffer's note, and I 505. *καύνιον* 'javelin', nowhere else 'trident, leister, harpoon' (τρίαινα, τριόδους). Not in the Latin Glossographers (unlike *sagena/sagina*; *Dieg.* VIII 6, for Callimachus' δικτύοις in 17). For the metaphor, cf. *AP* VI 4,5 τρηχύν τε τριόδοντα, Ποσειδάωνιον ἔγχος (Leon. Tarent.); *AP* VI 38,3 κητοφόνον τε τρίαιναν, ἐν ὕδασι καρτερόν ἔγχος (Phil.). Spearfishing day or night: Pl. *Sph.* 220D. Below, n. 61.

<sup>56</sup> Puelma 288,4; 311,3; Dawson 78f.

<sup>57</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 28: "es ist in dem amüsanten Stück ein besonders hübscher Zug, daß eigens ein im Schleudern der Harpune geübter Mann gewählt wird, um den Holzklotz möglichst weit ins Meer zu schleudern".



again.<sup>58</sup> Both actions are neatly juxtaposed in 49. (If ἔρρυψαν continues from 47, it is emphasized by postposition and enjambement.) With a glimpse of how Hermes is caught, and hauled out of the sea again (50f), the fragment breaks off.<sup>59</sup> The foundation of the cult (*Dieg.* VIII 14–20) does not survive.

*Iambus* VII is an Iambus (almost) without addressee. What matters is the speaker. Does this mean a loss of dramatic power? Hardly so. In earlier poems, Callimachus shows the speaker in various situations. Here, he lets Hermes present himself through a tale of his own. Hermes' tale is full of action (and of direct speech).<sup>60</sup> The scene is evoked in detail, with clarity and precision.<sup>61</sup>

It is night (39 ποτ' ἀστέρων). Fishermen draw their catch ashore in a net (17 με δικτύοις; *Dieg.* VIII 5f ἀνείλκυσαν αὐτὸν τῇ | καγήνῃ).<sup>62</sup> They discover the log, and first try to split it up

<sup>58</sup> *Dieg.* VIII 14. On the 'wrong' use of αὐθι 'again' (should be αὐτις, as in 46), see Pfeiffer's note; Rengakos (1992) 39. Pfeiffer (1934b) 28 translates "an derselben Stelle". Cf. Barber, *CR* 49, 1935, 177. αὐτις in *Dieg.* VIII 14 seems to reflect the wording of the poem; above, n. 18. ἐξ ἀλό[ς is preferable to Diehl's ἐξ ἀλό[ν με δικτύοις; Pfeiffer I 505; Laum (1928) 220f, esp. 221,6: the papyrus has ἐξ "um ἐξαλος zu vermeiden".

<sup>59</sup> On 50, see Pfeiffer's apparatus. π[έ]ρβαλον Pfeiffer; π[ά]ρβαλον, π[ύ]ρ βάλον Grenfell–Hunt. κατ' ἄγρ[ην] Powell. Grenfell–Hunt on *POxy.* IV 661,27: "κατάγρ[η] may be κατάγρ[η] = καθήρει, but then the preceding word should be a noun, and it is difficult to find anything suitable." π[έ]ρβαλον κατ' ἄγρ[αν] Diehl (Pfeiffer I 505).

<sup>60</sup> Puelma 288f, esp. n. 4; Fraser I 737; II 1035,170.

<sup>61</sup> Fishing: Pl. *Sph.* 218E–221C; Mair (1928) xxxvii–xlvi; Gallant (1985), esp. 12–25; Longo (1989) 27–33; cf. Thompson (1947). Cf. *POxy.* XLVI 3267–70 (leases of fishing rights). Fishing gear: Opp. *H.* III 72–91; *AP* VI 4; 5; 23; 27–30; 38; 90; 192; 193; Theoc. 21,8–14 with Gow; Gow–Page on Leon. 52, and Phil. 8. Nets: Mair (1928) xl–xlv; Gallant (1985) 16–25. Spears: Mair (1928) xlvif; Longo (1989) 28f; Pl. *Sph.* 220E. Night-fishing: by firelight, with net or trident, from boats with torches, or on the shore; Mair (1928) xlvif; Gow–Page on *HE* 2287, and *Garl.* 2684. Cf. Pl. *Sph.* 220D 5–7; Theoc. 21; Opp. *H.* IV 640–6, and Q.S. VII 569–76 (trident); Opp. *C.* IV 140–3, and *Ev.Luc.* 5,5 (net). Pictures: the Palestrina mosaic; Dunbabin (1978), esp. 125–30 (I owe this reference to Dr A. W. Lintott). Cf. Laubscher (1982); Bayer (1983); Sparkes (1995); Brewer–Friedman (1989).

<sup>62</sup> The fire in 40–2 suggests that they are on shore, not in a boat. Fishing with the καγήνῃ from the shore: Gallant (1985) 19; Opp. *H.* III 123f; IV 489–503 (?); cf. A. Δικτυουλκοί fr. 46a R.; *AP* VI 24. Gallant (1985) 25 claims

(*Dieg.* VIII 6–8). When they fail (*ibid.* 9–11), they try to burn it whole (*ibid.* 11f), on twigs that will catch fire more easily (42?). When they throw it back into the sea, they catch it again (49–51; *Dieg.* VIII 12–14).

Concentration on the speaker is not bought at the price of monotony. It enhances the humorously irreverent attitude to divinities qua artefacts. The idea itself is not new, and popular with Callimachus' contemporaries.<sup>63</sup> In *Iambus* VI, the conceit reflected on the speaker. Here, Hermes calls himself a mediocre carving.<sup>64</sup> Again, there are predecessors.<sup>65</sup> What is new, however, is the extent to which the idea is pursued, the relentless perversity with which the poet persists in unfolding its consequences, and succeeds in revealing its latent absurdities.

From the surviving fragments, it does not emerge in any detail how Hermes' character was developed, and how he told his story. But it is striking how even the scanty remains of the poem still emphasize the physicality of the wooden god.<sup>66</sup> At the beginning, Hermes describes his origin: *κ[ε]παρνον* (5) gives a glimpse of how he was carved. At the end, he narrates the origin of his cult: the fishermen doubt how much of a god their catch really is (*θεὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῶ προσήκοντα*, *Dieg.* VIII

that all fishing with nets was carried out from the shore, but see Purcell (1995) 148, 12, comparing *Ev. Jo.* 21, 6–8 (I owe this reference to Dr J. C. Trevett).

<sup>63</sup> Epich. fr. 131 K. *ἐκ παντὸς ξύλου | κλοιὸς γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ θεός*; Pl.Com. fr. 204 K.–A.: (A.) *οὗτος, τίς εἶ; λέγε ταχύ. τί κυῖας; οὐκ ἐρεῖς;* | (B.) *Ἑρμῆς ἐγῶγε Δαιδάλου φωνὴν ἔχων | ξύλινος βυδίζων αὐτόματος ἐλήλυθα*. Cf. Kassel (1983) 5f; Rose (1923); Pfeiffer (1934b) 29; Bousquet (1949) 107, 1; above, Ch. 6 n. 16. A. S. Hollis compares LXX Ps. 113, 12–15; 134, 15–17; Is. 41, 6f; 44, 9–20; Je. 10, 1–16.

<sup>64</sup> Kassel (1983) 11 on dialogue poems: "Die Paradoxie einer bis zur Sprechfähigkeit verlebendigten Statue musste im Dialoggedicht schärfer hervortreten als in den längst konventionell gewordenen Selbstvorstellungen der Monumente. Den hellenistischen Dichtern konnte dieser Effekt nur willkommen sein, und auch die nicht dialogische Selbstvorstellung haben sie dadurch aufgefrischt, dass sie die Materialität und den Artefaktcharakter der redenden Götterbilder geflissentlich hervorhoben." In fr. 114, 5, Apollo takes an oath by his own divinity: below, Ch. 9 n. 167.

<sup>65</sup> The Colossus of the Cypselids (Preger [1891] no. 53 = Geffcken [1916] no. 36); Pl.Com. fr. 204 K.–A. Cf. *AP* XVI 191.

<sup>66</sup> Herter (1937) 166, and (1973) 219, 25f; Puelma 288; Howald–Staiger 349; J. Kroll (1963) 251; Secci (1959) 86; Dawson 81f; Trypanis 134f; Fraser I 736f; Clayman 36.

14f). The way in which they keep passing him on, accounts for his name; their rough treatment, for the gash in his shoulder.<sup>67</sup>

All this, the strange adventures of a statue, man-made but divine, is entertaining and amusing, humorous and a little weird. Much of its effect depends on the god himself uttering these irreverent sentiments, as later poets were quick to appreciate.<sup>68</sup> In its dialogic form, Tibullus I 4 is perhaps closer to *Iambus* IX. The poet asks a question (1–8), receives Priapus' ἐρωτοδιδασκαλία (9–72), sets himself up as a *magister* (73–80), but fails to benefit from his new-found wisdom (81–4). Priapus also speaks in Horace, *Satire* I 8, which begins:

olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,  
cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,  
maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum aviumque  
maxima formido.

Here the addressee remains the conventional shadow of *Iambus* VII, as also in Propertius IV 2. The latter is particularly interesting: the poet seems to play on the epigrammatic origin of the speaking statue (20: *de se narranti tu modo crede deo*) when he caps his overblown epigram (1–58) with a real one (59–64).

Through the portrayal of its speaker, *Iambus* VII shows a similar interest in self-irony as the other *Iambi*. In earlier poems, Callimachus the poet reflects on Callimachus the speaker. In *Iambus* VII, he has someone else do the same. The poem is not about “the special role of the artist in society”,<sup>69</sup> nor about “den Kunstkenner und -kritiker . . . , der mit kuriosen Einzelheiten aufzuwarten weiß”.<sup>70</sup> It is about a god making fun of himself (Hermes is aptly chosen). It is another variation on the theme: ‘how seriously to take yourself’.

<sup>67</sup> *Dieg.* VIII 9f. Dawson 81f; Herter (1937) 166: “eine Verletzung des Holzbildes hatte also zu diesem Zuge Anlaß gegeben”; Howald–Staiger 349: “Der Gott will uns das Aition seiner Verehrung und seines offenbar sehr ramponierten Zustandes geben.” Cf. bandaged Athena: *Suppl.Hell.* 276 (+ fr. 667 Pf.) = fr. 110 Massimilla.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Lavagnini (1936) 400; Puelma 289; Dawson 83; Fraenkel (1957) 121–4.

<sup>69</sup> Clayman 37 on φυγαίχμας.

<sup>70</sup> Puelma 287.

## *Iambi VIII–XI*

THE next four poems are all but lost. They are here taken together in one chapter, not as a distinct group within the collection, but for practical reasons.

### A. *Iambus VIII*

Only the first line survives:<sup>1</sup>

Ἀργώ κοτ<sup>1</sup> ἐμπνέοντος ἥκαλον<sup>2</sup> νότου

This is the beginning of a narrative. For the first time, the opening line does not establish the dramatic context: situation, addressee, and speaker remain hidden. What is the form of this Iambus?

The opening line is an iambic trimeter. Epodic (like V–VII),<sup>3</sup> or κατὰ στίχον (like IX and X)?<sup>4</sup> We do not know.<sup>5</sup> If κοτ(έ) is to be trusted, the dialect was Ionic.

Beyond the incipit, this is what the *Diegesis* has to offer (VIII 21–32):

<sup>1</sup> *Dieg.* VIII 21; *Et.Gen.* ἥκαλον (Pfeiffer's apparatus).

<sup>2</sup> Pfeiffer compares fr. 768 = Hsch. η 287 La. ἡκαλέον γελώωσα· πράως, οὐκ ἐσκυθρωπακυῖα (with Hollis on *Hec.*, p. 336). Cf. Pl. *Phd.* 62A8 ἡρέμα ἐπιγελάσας; Theoc. 7,19f καί μ' ἀτρέμας εἶπε σεσαρώς | ὄμματι μειδίσωντι, γέλως δέ οἱ εἶχετο χεῖλες with Gow, and Sch. σεσαρώς: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡρέμα ἐγέλα διεστηκώς τὰ χεῖλη καὶ μειδιῶν (84,15f Wendel).

<sup>3</sup> Puelma 293,1, analysing fr. 223 as "iamb. Trim. + katalekt. iamb. Dimeter" (but see Pfeiffer on frr. 198 and 223). Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, p. 169 offers "Trim. und lecythium (?)", based on fr. 222 (but see Pfeiffer). At *Gnomon* 10, 1934, 438, he suggests that προφθάσας δὲ νικᾷ (*Dieg.* VIII 28) would make "einen guten Ithyphallicus".

<sup>4</sup> Clayman 38; 39. Cf. Gallavotti 14–17; Dawson 89f; Fuhrer (1992) 206,770, and (1993) 82 with n. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Pfeiffer; Dawson 89f; Howald–Staiger 351; Trypanis 137; Herter (1973) 219,55; Fuhrer (1992) 205. Below, Conclusion, at n. 74. Victory epigrams come in a variety of metrical forms: Ebert (1972) 23; 279.

Ἀργώ κοτ' ἐμπνέοντος ἤκαλον νότου Ἐπί(νι)κος Πολυκλεῖ Αἰγινήτη  
νικήσαντι διαύλῳ Ἀμφο(τε)ρίτη ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. τὸ δ' ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο· πρὸς  
τῷ τέρματι τοῦ | σταδίου κείται ἀμφο[τε]ρ[ο]ῖ' ἐ' ὕς πλήρης ὕδατος, ἐφ' ὃν  
δραμῶν κενὸς ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν ἀμφορέα ἀνακάμπτει, προ-  
φθάσας δὲ νικᾷ. κατήχθη[σαν] | δὲ ἐντεῦθεν· οἱ Ἀργοναῦται ἐπιβάντες | τῆς  
Αἰγίνης ἡμιλλήσαν(το) {δὲ} ἀλλήλοις ὑδρευόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ θάπτον· ὁ δ'  
ἀγὼν | Ὑδροφόρια καλεῖται.

In 21f, the poem is called an ἐπίνικος (Norsa–Vitelli). The papyrus has *επεικος*. This could be ἐπικός—not impossible, perhaps, for a narrative poem about the Argonauts. However, (i) it is unsuitable for the iambic metre, (ii) unlikely in view of Polycles' victory (*Πολυκλεῖ Αἰγινήτη νικήσαντι* 22), and (iii) without noun more difficult than ἐπίνικος. The change is very attractive, but it may be worth remembering that the explicit classification of this poem as an epinician is based on conjecture.

The contest is stated in 22f: διαύλῳ Ἀμφορίτη.<sup>6</sup> This, too, depends on conjecture. The papyrus has *αμφοτερητη*. This is ungrammatical. The same mistake occurs in 25: the papyrus has *αμφο[τε]ρ[ο]ῖ' ἐ' ὕς*. Again, a form of ἀμφοτέρος was mistakenly written for a form of ἀμφορέυς.<sup>7</sup> At 25, the scribe corrected his mistake; at 23, he missed it.

Some further corrections are needed in 28–30. This is the text as restored by Lobel:<sup>8</sup>

κατήχθη (-ηχθησαν pap.) δὲ ἐντεῦθεν (sc. τὸ ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο l. 24)· οἱ  
Ἀργοναῦται ἐπιβάντες τῆς Αἰγίνης ἡμιλλήσαντο (ἡμίλλησαν δὲ pap.) ἀλλήλοις  
κτλ.

In the transmitted text, ἐπιβάντες τῆς Αἰγίνης is redundant with κατήχθησαν . . . ἐντεῦθεν. The corruption was caused by mistaking the sense of ἐντεῦθεν, and missing the asyndeton (οἱ Ἀργοναῦται . . .). ἐντεῦθεν is here not local, but causal; it introduces the αἴτιον of the contest.<sup>9</sup> It points forward, and this

<sup>6</sup> For the ἀμ(φι)φορίτης ἀγὼν, see Pfeiffer. 23f πατρίδι. (ἀμφορέυς δὲ νικητήριον κατεστάθη) τῷ ἀγῶνι διὰ τοῦτο . . . Wifstrand (Herter [1937] 166; Dawson 84 on 22f); δὲ Dawson 84. The papyrus does seem to have had *τῶ ἀγωνιδιατοῦτο*, but how would that fit in? Cf. Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>7</sup> Confirmed by ἀναλαβὼν τὸν ἀμφορέα (27).

<sup>8</sup> Pfeiffer I 505 (replacing his note); Wifstrand (Herter [1937] 166). Cf. Dawson 84 on 28ff, and 85 on 21ff; D'Alessio 628, 118.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Ch. 7 n. 8.

accounts for the asyndeton. If ἐντεῦθεν is misunderstood, the asyndeton will present difficulties. The sentence is made to carry on until τῆς Αἰγίνης, κατήχθη{σαν} is turned into the plural, and δέ is inserted to mark off the next sentence.

Thus restored (and all depends on these restorations), the *Diegesis* provides some important clues. *Iambus* VIII is an epinician (ἐπινικος 21f) relating the αἴτιον (ἐντεῦθεν 29) of an ἀμφορίτης ἀγών (23).<sup>10</sup> Aetiological stories (about the contest, the prize, etc.) are a traditional element of epinician poetry.<sup>11</sup>

Metre and dialect are more surprising. Influence of (victory) epigram? Or is Callimachus ‘crossing’ Doric epinician and Ionic *Iambus*? For the question of genre, much will depend on the handling of speaker and addressee.

Apart from incipit and summary, there are some other fragments which may belong to *Iambus* VIII.<sup>12</sup>

First, fr. 220:

καὶ τῶν νεήκων εὐθὺς οἱ τομώτατοι

Metre and dialect would suit VIII or X. Pfeiffer notes: “propter rem narratam Iambo VIII fragmentum tribuo: ‘et illico iuniorum acutissimi, vel potius ardentissimi (ad fontem cucurrerunt)’ ”.<sup>13</sup>

Another candidate is fr. 222:<sup>14</sup>

οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω  
τὴν Μοῦσαν, ὥς ὁ Κεῖος Ὑλίου νέπους

These lines look back to Pindar, *Isthmian* 2,6:

ἂ Μοῖσα γὰρ οὐ φιλοκερδής  
πω τότ’ ἦν οὐδ’ ἐργάτις

<sup>10</sup> Herter (1973) 219,56; Dawson 87f; Howald–Staiger 351; Trypanis 135f; Clayman 38; Bing 66; Schwinge (1986) 45,130.

<sup>11</sup> Fraser I 738; Fuhrer (1992) 206, and 208; cf. 112–18, and 78–85 on the (re-)foundation of the Nemean Games in the *Victoria Berenices* (differently Parsons [1977] 39–41).

<sup>12</sup> Pfeiffer; Gallavotti 56f; Dawson 84f; Trypanis 137; Fuhrer (1992) 207; D’Alessio 628,117. Cf. fr. 596 (Pfeiffer on *Dieg.*; Fuhrer [1992] 206,772; Cameron 428).

<sup>13</sup> On νέας, see Pfeiffer; Nicophon fr. 18 K.–A.; cf. Kassel–Austin on Eup. fr. 172,9. On τομός ‘keen’: above, Ch. 4 n. 44.

<sup>14</sup> Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, p. 167 (above, n. 3, on the metre); Lavagnini (1936) 400; Howald–Staiger 352f; Clayman 38f. On νέπους: above, Ch. 2 n. 38.

The reference is recognized in the scholia on Pindar where the Callimachean fragment is quoted:<sup>15</sup>

οὐδ' ἐργάτις, ὃ ἐστὶν αἰτοῦσα μισθὸν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραττεν. ἔθνευ καὶ Καλλίμαχος φησιν: οὐ—νέπους. λέγοι δ' ἂν πρὸς Σιμωνίδην ταῦτα, ὥς φιλάργυρον διασύρων τὸν ἄνδρα.

In Pindar, the target (if any) is left unnamed. When the scholion mentions Simonides, this is interpretation: λέγοι δ' ἂν . . ., 'he is presumably talking about'. This interpretation is known to Callimachus who names the Cean poet. Not just a reference to Pindar, therefore, but to a particular tradition of Pindaric exegesis.<sup>16</sup>

All this would suit an epinician rather well.<sup>17</sup> What could have been its point in *Iambus* VIII? Fuhrer sees it as a way of distancing oneself from traditional ὕψος, and of stressing the new conditions of production: no poetry on commission, but a gift between friends?<sup>18</sup>

Finally, fr. 223:<sup>19</sup>

κοῦχ ᾧδ' Ἀρίων τῶπέεσαντι παρ' Διὶ  
ἔθυεν Ἀρκὰς ἵππος

Pfeiffer notes: "Fort. celeritas victoris in certamine Iambi VIII, fr. 198, comparatur cum celeritate equi clarissimi".

In addition to the *Diegesis* and the fragments, there is a parallel. Apollonius tells the same story. In the *Argonautica*, Aegina is the last station of the Argonauts before they come home:<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Sch. Pi. I. 2,9b (III 214,12–17 Drachmann).

<sup>16</sup> Lefkowitz (1981) 49–56, esp. 50f; 57–66, esp. 57 (cf. 65f); Cameron 186 (compares Theoc. 16,22–57). Woodbury (1968) 529; Bell (1978) 29; Podlecki (1979) 13–15. Cf. Call. fr. 64; Lefkowitz (1991) 72–88, esp. 74, and 79; 89–110, esp. 97f; 147–60, esp. 155–60 (158). See also Lefkowitz (1981) 55, and 61; Bing 67–70; Bell (1978) 77–86.

<sup>17</sup> Pfeiffer: "non male in 'epiniciū' quadrat". See his note.

<sup>18</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 213–15. Unlike the γενεθλιακόν (XII), VIII is not described as a present.

<sup>19</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 80,298. Should the verb be habitual, i.e. ἔθυεν or ἔθυιεν? (ἔθυεν Meineke.) Scribal confusion of θύω and θύιω: Allen–Halliday–Sikes on *h. Merc.* 560; West on Hes. *Th.* 131; A.R. III 755; Nic. *Ther.* 129. Negative simile: fr. 23 with Massimilla's introductory note on fr. 25.

<sup>20</sup> A.R. IV 1765–72. V. 1765 λιπόντες libri: ταμόντες Maas (cf. S. fr. 271,5f R.; Livrea's note). On 1768 μετὰ νῆάδ(ε), see Wackernagel (1928) 232; Livrea; Vian's edition (210 on 1772).

κείθεν δ' ἀπτερέως διὰ μυρίον οἶδμα ταμόντες 1765  
 Αἰγίνης ἀκτῆσιν ἐπέσχεθον. αἶψα δὲ τοίγε  
 ὕδρείης πέρι δῆριν ἀμεμφέα δηρίσαντο,  
 ὅς κεν ἀφυσσάμενος φθαίῃ μετὰ νῆάδ' ἰκέσθαι.  
 ἄμφω γὰρ χρειώ τε καὶ ἄσπετος οὖρος ἔπειγεν.  
 ἔνθ' ἔτι νῦν, πλήθοντας ἐπωμαδὸν ἀμφιφορῆας 1770  
 ἀνθέμενοι, κούφοισιν ἄφαρ κατ' ἀγῶνα πόδεσσι  
 κούροι Μυρμιδόνων νίκης πέρι δηριόωνται.

The two narratives seem related: note the wind in fr. 198, and in 1769. Priority, however, cannot be established.<sup>21</sup>

Both narratives are about the same historical festival;<sup>22</sup> both recount its mythical origin.<sup>23</sup> This invites comparison. In Apollonius, the αἴτιον is part of the distant mythical past; in Callimachus, a foil to the recent victory of Polycles. How important are present realities? Does *Iambus VIII*, like the *Victoria Sosibii* and the *Victoria Berenices*, celebrate a real victory of a real person?<sup>24</sup> The name Polycles is real enough,<sup>25</sup> but one cannot exclude the possibility that victor and occasion are fictional.<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps it will help to consider the form. Turning ἐπίνικος into elegy is one thing. An epinician Iambus will presumably be rather different. There, traditional formality; here, something more individual, personal, surprising? An experiment con-

<sup>21</sup> Livrea on 1766; 1768 (+ Call. fr. 596; also fr. 384,35f on κάλπις; Cameron 428). Cf. Wilamowitz (1924) II 174; Herter (1937) 166; Dawson 86f; Trypanis 137; Clayman 39; Fraser I 738 (cf. 628, and 637f); Fuhrer (1992) 206, esp. n. 774, and 207,775. Callimachus prior: Cameron 251–3, esp. 251f. Argonauts in Callimachus: Cameron 249f; Massimilla on fr. 9,19–fr. 23 (p. 256f); cf. Eichgrün (1961).

<sup>22</sup> The Ὑδροφόρια at Aegina (perhaps identical with the Δελφίνα): Nilsson (1906) 172f; Livrea on A.R. IV 1776; Pfeiffer on *Dieg.*; Dawson 88; Fuhrer (1992) 210,789; Kramer (1970) 28.

<sup>23</sup> *Dieg.* VIII 29 ἐντεῦθεν (above, at n. 9); A.R. IV 1770 ἔτι νῦν; *EM* (Pfeiffer on *Dieg.*) ὅθεν καὶ (νῦν) ἀγὼν ἄγεται Ἀμφιφορίτης λεγόμενος παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις . . . κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἡρώων. Cf. Dawson 87f; Fuhrer (1992) 206 with n. 773, and (1993) 83 with n. 28.

<sup>24</sup> Puelma 292: a “gesellschaftliches Gelegenheitsgedicht” for “ein aktuelles Ereignis”.

<sup>25</sup> Attested in Hellenistic Cyrene (*Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I 378), Athens (ibid. II 372f), and widespread throughout the Greek world (Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*).

<sup>26</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 212; 216, and (1993) 82,24.



ducted more easily in a fictional setting, than with a victor and his family breathing down the poet's neck? (It could, of course, still pose as a present.)

Puelma bases far-reaching conclusions on a comparison with the *Victoria Sosibii*.<sup>27</sup>

Die Anfangsverse des Iambus weisen den typischen Märchenbeginn auf . . . , im folgenden aber wird eine einfache aitiologische Geschichte in schlichten Worten erzählt, ohne die Verwicklungen und erhabenen mythologischen Bilder des Pindarischen Epinikion, dessen gewundenen hohen Stil Kallimachos in jenem elegischen Epinikion meisterhaft zu treffen weiß.

This idea of a “Stilkontrast beider Epinikien” is attractive, but conjectural.<sup>28</sup> For Callimachus' style in his epinician elegies, the *Victoria Berenices* is a splendid specimen.<sup>29</sup> For his epinician Iambus, however, one line cannot justify a stylistic judgement.

The style remains elusive, but the subject-matter (praise and myth) shows the influence of the epinician ode. The *Diegesis* records details of victor and contest. They will come from the poem, and reflect the epinician ‘programme’.<sup>30</sup> A victor from Aegina brings to mind Pindar's Aeginetan victors.<sup>31</sup>

Even the narrative start can boast archaic precedent. Fuhrer compares Pindar, *Pythian* 3, and Bacchylides, epinician 9.<sup>32</sup> Callimachus takes “das Ungewöhnliche als Vorbild”.<sup>33</sup> And he goes one step further. Bacchylides begins with an opening prayer, and even *Pythian* 3 (although notoriously untypical) opens with a first-person statement establishing the speaker's role and intent. Nothing comparable at the start of *Iambus* VIII. How did the poem develop?

<sup>27</sup> Puelma 292.

<sup>28</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 211, 793; 212. “Märchenbeginn”: above, Ch. 2 n. 4. Position of ποτέ: above, Ch. 4 n. 14. Did Hermes use the formula in VII?

<sup>29</sup> *Suppl.Hell.* 254–69; Parsons (1977); Livrea (1979). In general: Fuhrer (1992), 205–16 on *Iambus* VIII, and (1993). Cf. Newman (1985) 182.

<sup>30</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 209; 216; Ebert (1972) 18–21. The father's name is absent from the *Diegesis* (Fuhrer [1992] 210), and perhaps from the poem: Ebert (1972) 19; 269 (list of examples in the index s.v. ‘Vatersname fehlt im Epigramm’).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Clayman 38.

<sup>32</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 209, 787. Narrative start with ποτέ not found in archaic epinician: D'Alessio 629, 119. Above, Ch. 4 n. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 209f.

The aetiological myth is no surprise.<sup>34</sup> It is a traditional feature of epinician, and a central element of the aetiological *Iambi* VII, IX, X, XI (and, with a pinch of salt, XII).<sup>35</sup> Aetiology is important in the second half of the collection. Does the epinician join Callimachus' *Iambi* as a source of new αἴτια?

Another interest connecting VIII with other *Iambi* is the adaptation of traditional forms: the experimentation with the conventional speaker of epigram (VII, IX, XI).<sup>36</sup>

Does this explain the oddity of an epinician Iambus? Is it enough to say: it is aetiological; and epigrammatic? What is Iambic about this Iambus? What does it share with the other *Iambi*, beyond aetiological content and epigrammatic form? What does an epinician contribute to the ἱαμβικὴ ἰδέα of Callimachus' collection?

It is easy to dismiss such questions. *Gewöhnlich glaubt der Mensch, wenn er nur Worte hört, | Es müsse sich dabei doch auch was denken lassen.* There is, one could argue, nothing odd about an epinician in iambics. The ἀρχαία μουσική dies in the fourth century, and with it dies the lyric epinician. Its place is taken by victory epigram. This is, in effect, what *Iambus* VIII is. No *Kreuzung der Gattungen*, no reason to search for an ἱαμβικὴ ἰδέα.<sup>37</sup>

However, this is not just an epinician in iambics. It is an epinician among *Iambi*. The archaic Iambus has a distinct profile, and Callimachus' *Iambi* have a distinct interest: an interest in the role of the speaker. Who was the speaker of *Iambus* VIII? Comparison with victory epigrams suggests an interesting possibility: the victor.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Above, n. 11.

<sup>35</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 208, and 211.

<sup>36</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 208 with n. 780; 100–3, and (1993) 90–7, on victory epigrams. Cameron 149,51 compares Critias fr. 4–5 W. At 150f, he thinks that *Iambus* VIII is influenced by the tragic messenger speech. Only one inscribed victory epigram in trimeters: Ebert (1972) no. 3 ("Etwa Mitte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr."), due to proper names (ibid., pp. 39f). Cf. *ISmyrna* 514; 524; esp. 520,6 (all 2nd–1st cent. BC); Merkelbach (1973); Kassel (1975).

<sup>37</sup> Fuhrer (1992) 23; 220; 268 (index s.v. 'Kreuzung der Gattungen'); (1993) 89f; Cameron 146–53; 243f (on Posidippus); (1992), esp. 305f, and 307. On the demise of μολπή: Howald 26f; 91; R. Harder (1942) 105f; (1943) 102–8. But trimeters are not common (above, n. 36).

<sup>38</sup> Fuhrer (1993) 95; Ebert (1972) 22; 112 (list of examples); cf. 21f on the

This is a guess, but it can be corroborated. *Iambi* VI–XI are all about sculptures.<sup>39</sup> In VIII, the statue of victorious Polycles joins the gallery of Iambic casts. In VI, Zeus was reduced to a silent heap of dead matter, but in VII, IX, and XI, the statues talk. It is tempting to think that Polycles, too, told his own story.

Comparison with victory epigrams sheds light on the speaker, but not on the narrative.<sup>40</sup> The myth looks back to the epinician ode. As in VII, the aetiological narrative brings to life the conventional speaker of epigram. *Kreuzung der Gattungen* creates an extended prosopopoeia.<sup>41</sup>

### B. *Iambus* IX

Most is lost. The first line survives in *Dieg.* VIII 33, and together with part of line 2 in *POxy.* XIX 2221 ii 4–6:<sup>42</sup>

Ερμά, τί τοι τὸ νεῦρον, ὦ Γενειόλα,  
ποττὰν ὑπήναν κοῦ ποτ' ἔχνη[ον] ;

Main source of information is the *Diegesis* (VIII 33–40):

Ερμά, τί τοι τὸ νεῦρον ὦ Γενειόλα Φιλη|τάδου παιδὸς εὐτρεποῦς  
ἐραστῆς ἰδὼν | Ερμοῦ ἄγαλμα ἐν παλαιστριδίῳ ἐντε|ταμένον, πυνθάνεται μὴ  
διὰ τὸν Φιλη|τάδαν. ὁ δέ φησιν ἄνωθεν εἶναι Τυρση|νὸς καὶ κατὰ μυστικὸν  
λόγον ἐντε|τάσθαι, ἐπὶ κακῷ δὲ αὐτὸν φιλεῖν τὸν | Φιλητάδαν.

speaking monument. Cf. Kassel (1983) 11,47 on *AP* XVI 23 (Ebert no. 62 with pp. 185f; *FGE* p. 245).

<sup>39</sup> For X, see below, n. 81. In XI, the tombstone speaks. Pairs of statues: above, Ch. 7 n. 2. Cf. the two Heracles αἵτια fr. 22–5 Pf. = 24–7 Mass., and the *Doppelfrage* in fr. 7,19–21 Pf. = fr. 9,19–21 Mass. (with his introductory note).

<sup>40</sup> No aetiological narrative in victory epigrams. ποτέ in Ebert (1972) nos. 17,1; 26,2; 61,1 “zeigt, daß das Denkmal für die Betrachtung auch durch spätere Geschlechter berechnet ist” (93 on no. 26,1–2). It takes the perspective of the future viewer: Il. VII 89f; cf. τότε in nos. 38,1; 68,5; τόκα in nos. 59,10; 73A,5. Contrast above, Ch. 4 n. 14. ποκά in no. 55,1 is different (Ebert 168), and may refer to a precedent of the victory celebrated (*pace* Ebert 167). More significant are two epigrams beginning with a narrative of the contest: no. 59 of 280–272 BC from Pergamum (not unlike the *Victoria Berenices*: Fuhrer [1992] 100–3), and no. 64 (“letztes Drittel des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.”) from Sidon.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Fuhrer (1993) 89 with n. 65.

<sup>42</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

Form and content are reasonably clear. Metre: iambic trimeters, probably *κατὰ στίχον*.<sup>43</sup> The incipit establishes a dialogue between a visitor of a palaestra and an ithyphallic Hermes.<sup>44</sup> Another statue, and another Hermes.<sup>45</sup> “Hermen barbatum et ithyphallicum amator quidam Philetadae pueri (non poeta ipse, ut videtur) interrogat, respondet deus” (Pfeiffer). The *Diegesis* introduces the speaker of the opening lines as an anonymous *ἐραστής* (VIII 34); this suggests that the speaker is not the poet.<sup>46</sup> The theme of erotic jealousy links this poem to III and V.<sup>47</sup>

What is the tone of the opening question? Meaningful, it seems, and suggestive.<sup>48</sup> Mocking (‘now look at you . . .’)? Seeking allies (‘well, if it’s the same with you, I’d say Philetades has arrived’)? Boldly familiar (‘you aren’t any better off, are you’)?

The god’s reply is somewhere between touchy self-righteousness and friendly deflation. Hermes is setting the record straight: his *ἐντασις* is a special case and *κατὰ μυστικὸν λόγον* (*Dieg.* VIII 37–9).

This mystic Hermes points towards Samothrace.<sup>49</sup> After the

<sup>43</sup> Pfeiffer (*pace* Puelma 264 with n. 2). 2 βλέπει Maas; ποτ’ ἔχνη[α βλέπει Gallavotti, *PP* 4, 1949, 287f; ῥέπει Pfeiffer I 505. Cf. D’Alessio 631,122. Trypanis 137 supposes a “catalectic iambic trimeter”.

<sup>44</sup> On the speaking object, and dialogue epigrams: Pfeiffer; D’Alessio 630,120; above, Ch. 7 n. 3. Cf. Manakidou (1993) 248; Cameron 146. Hermes speaks: Phryn.Com. fr. 61 K.–A.; Pl.Com. fr. 204 K.–A. Herm in gymnasium: *AP* XI 176; XVI 188; cf. Cic. *Att.* I 4,3; 10,3 with Shackleton Bailey. Dialogue with herm: *AP* XII 143 (both speakers love the same ephebe). *AP* XI 224 is spoken by a statue of Priapus whose erection is outdone by a certain Cimon. *Γενειόλας*: Pfeiffer; R. Schmitt 19,4; Chantraine (1974); D’Alessio 631,122. Cf. Hor. *S.* I 8; Tib. I 4 with Dawson (1946) 12f; Wimmel (1968) 22,16. Clayman 40; Herter (1973) 220,4–9; Puelma 264–6, esp. 266; Dawson 83, and 95; Trypanis 137.

<sup>45</sup> Clayman 39. Above, Ch. 7, following n. 7.

<sup>46</sup> Kern, *APF* 12, 1937, 65: “ein ungenannter Liebhaber”. *Pace* D’Alessio 630,120; cf. Howald–Staiger 353.

<sup>47</sup> Puelma 266; Clayman 39.

<sup>48</sup> *Dieg.* VIII 36f *μή διὰ τὸν Φιλητάδαν*. On *νεῦρον*: Pfeiffer; the Nicander scholion in *POxy.* 2221; Pl.Com. fr. 189,20 K.–A.; Henderson on Ar. *Lys.* 1078, and (1975) 116; Adams (1982) 38.

<sup>49</sup> Pfeiffer on *Dieg.* (cf. fr. 723; D’Alessio 631,122). Hdt. II 51 (cf. 48; III 37); cf. Cic. *N.D.* III 22,56. Kern, *APF* 12, 1937, 65f; Puelma 264,4; Dawson 94f; Secci (1959) 90ff; Howald–Staiger 353; Trypanis 136f; Fraser I 738, and

Hermes of Ainos in VII, this may be another Hermes from the northern Aegean. The dialect fits, and seems to characterize a local speaker.<sup>50</sup>

Hermes told his story, and explained the mystic reason of his *ἔντασις*. Like Hermes in VII, he recounts his own *αἴτιον*.<sup>51</sup> Unlike earlier *αἴτια*, this, it appears, is put to Iambic use: a venerable legend, not set forth with superior aloofness, but wielded like a weapon in a mundane quarrel. The lover's (brief?) question thwarted by the god's (extended?) response? A careless talker cut down by an embarrassed divinity?<sup>52</sup>

Once more, the god is an artefact<sup>53</sup>—but this Hermes complains vociferously at the lover's crude physicality: his state is due to a *μυστικὸς λόγος*, whereas the lover is said *ἐπὶ κακῶ* . . . *φιλεῖν τὸν Φιλητάδαν* (*Dieg.* VIII 39f). What exactly is the contrast?

The phrase *ἐπὶ κακῶ* could refer to evil intent,<sup>54</sup> or harmful result.<sup>55</sup> Fraser lets Hermes add “that his questioner loves

II 1036f, 176; Herter (1937) 166, and (1973) 220, 1–3; D'Alessio 630, 121. See also Burkert (1985) 281–5; Graf (1997) 494f (with further literature); West (1997) 58. Hermes in fables and in Hipponax: Hutchinson 52, 55 (Babr. 30; esp. 48; 119; Aesop. 88; 99 P., etc.).

<sup>50</sup> Pace ZPE 86, 1991, 34; above, Ch. 6 n. 118. The *Diegesis*, in normal Attic and κοινή fashion, retains the dialectal accusative *Φιλητάδαν* (36f; 40), but substitutes *Φιλητάδου* in the genitive (33f). Fr. 221 has been associated with *Iambus* X on account of *Ἑρμᾶνος* (Pfeiffer; Gallavotti 57; Puelma 265; Clayman 39; D'Alessio 631, 122); [however, the form *Ἑρμᾶν* belongs to the central and south-eastern Peloponnese. L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>51</sup> Pfeiffer on *Dieg.* compares Prop. IV 2; Call. fr. 197 (not '198'), and 97. See also Fraser I 737; Dawson 95; Trypanis 137; Hutchinson 52.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Hutchinson 52: “*Ia.* 9 ended with a crushing speech by Hermes, the second speech of two; the form is reminiscent of Babrius 30 and 117.” Cf. Babr. 48; Call. fr. 554; Cairns (1979) 189f; Della Corte (1980) 151–3.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Babr. 30. On the ironic tone, see Herter (1973) 219, 66–220, 1.

<sup>54</sup> Gallavotti 84 “con cattive intenzioni”; Dawson 93 and Trypanis 136 “with evil intent”. Cf. Clayman 39: “the Herm accuses his interlocutor of loving Philetadas for evil purposes”.

<sup>55</sup> Kern, *APF* 12, 1937, 65: “Zu seinem Unheil aber liebe er (d.h. der *ἐραστής*) den Philetades.” Puelma 265: “da ihm diese Liebe nicht gut bekommen wird”, and n. 1: “er liebe den Ph. zu seinem Unglück”. Howald–Staiger 353: “die Liebe zu Philetades aber werde ihm, dem Dichter [i.e. the speaker], Unglück bringen”. D'Alessio 631: “a suo danno”. Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 240, offers no translation.

Philetadas for the worst possible reasons”<sup>56</sup>—but can it mean that?<sup>57</sup> It is easier to understand it “of an end or purpose”.<sup>58</sup> Disreputable intentions contrast with the nature of Hermes’ own *ἐντασις*: here divine mysteries—there low lust.<sup>59</sup>

Comparison with VI and VII brings out the play on the god’s physicality. The remains, though scarce, suggest a blend of high and low, recondite and crude, legendary and Iambic, corporeal and divine.

### C. *Iambus* X

In *Iambus* X, there are two αἵτια (*Dieg.* VIII 41–IX 11):

Τὰς Ἀφροδίτας—ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία—      Ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ τῆς Παμφυλίας τῇ  
Καστνίῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ ὅς ἱεουργεῖται ἐντεῦθεν. | Μόψος ἀρχηγὸς τῶν  
Παμφυλίων ἐπὶ θήραν | ἐξιὼν εὔξατο αὐτῇ εὐβολήσας ὃ ἂν λάβοι πρῶτον  
καλλιερέσειν. καὶ δὴ θηράσας | κάπρον ἐτέλεσε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. ἀφ’ οὗ | καὶ  
Παμφύλιοι μέχρι νῦν τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ᾗδετο ἡ θεός, οὐκ ἂν ὁ  
Μόψος ἐκυνήγησεν τοῦτο. ἐπαινεῖ δὲ καὶ | τὴν Ἐρετριέων Ἀρτεμιν, ὅτι πᾶν  
τὸ | θυόμενον οὐκ ἀποσείεται.

The first αἵτιον explains why swine are sacrificed to Aphrodite Kastnietis at Aspendos in Pamphylia.<sup>60</sup> The second is about the catholic taste of Artemis of Eretria: a parallel example of divine tolerance. Presumably, the αἵτιον for Artemis’ attitude was given as well, but the *Diegesis* does not say so, and does not tell it.<sup>61</sup> From the poem, two fragments survive.

<sup>56</sup> Fraser I 737.

<sup>57</sup> Not covered by LSJ ἐπὶ B.III.3.

<sup>58</sup> LSJ B.III.2. A warning, as in V?

<sup>59</sup> Puelma interprets (A) ἐπὶ κακῶ as a warning, and concludes (B) “daß Kallimachos mit diesem Iambus einen Nebenbuhler treffen will, d.h. daß er selbst eifersüchtiger Liebhaber des Philetades ist”. Cf. n. 4 (C): “In diesem Falle wäre die Identifizierung des Dichters am Schluß mit dem ἐραστής wahrscheinlich.” Even if (A) is true, (B) does not follow; and how can (B) be reconciled with (C)? If the poet talks about his rival?

<sup>60</sup> *Dieg.* IX 2 ἐντεῦθεν introduces the αἵτιον: above, Ch. 7 n. 8. In the papyrus, it is preceded by a blank: to mark the beginning of the story? Or was ἐντεῦθεν mistaken for the local adverb, and taken with the following sentence (ἐντεῦθεν . . . ἐξιὼν)? (Misunderstood at *Dieg.* VIII 29: above, at n. 9.)

<sup>61</sup> Is ἀποσείεται striking enough to come from the poem?

In fr. 200a, Pfeiffer combines the opening line from the *Diegesis* (VIII 41) with a prose paraphrase from Strabo (IX 5, 17 p. 438):

Τὰς Ἀφροδίτας—ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία—  
ἡ Καστινήτις τῷ φρονεῖν ὑπερφέρει  
πάσας,  
ὅτι μόνη παραδέχεται τὴν τῶν ὑῶν θυσίαν.

Lines 2–4 are based on Strabo's account:

Καλλίμαχος μὲν οὖν φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἱάμβοις (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία) τὴν Καστινήτιν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάσας τῷ φρονεῖν, ὅτι μόνη παραδέχεται τὴν τῶν ὑῶν θυσίαν.

Two things are odd about this: (i) the parenthesis—ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία—comes at an awkward point; (ii) πάσας lacks a referent. How about:

Καλλίμαχος μὲν οὖν φησιν ἐν τῷ ἱάμβῳ (‘‘Τὰς Ἀφροδίτας > (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία)’’ τὴν Καστινήτιν ὑπερβάλλεσθαι πάσας τῷ φρονεῖν κτλ.

What follows is paraphrase of the poem. This paraphrase ends with θυσίαν. After this, Strabo is concerned with fr. 178,30.<sup>62</sup>

How close is Strabo's summary to Callimachus' poem? The iambic rhythm of the parenthesis suggests direct quotation, and the *Diegesis* confirms this. Is Strabo drifting from quotation into a prose rendering still close to the original? Numerous attempts have been made to bring him into verse.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus. Strabo's reference to *Iambus* VI (VIII 3,30 p. 354) is different: above, Ch. 6 n. 101.

<sup>63</sup> Schneider on fr. 82b. Up to πάσας, versification is easy; the rest proves recalcitrant. Pfeiffer had his doubts (apparatus on 2f). Schneider gives:

τὰς Ἀφροδίτας (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία)  
ὑπερβαλέσθαι Καστινήτιν τῷ φρονεῖν [sic]  
πάσας· παραδέχεται [sic] μόνη τὴν τῶν ὑῶν  
θυσίην.

Meineke offers:

τὰς Ἀφροδίτας (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία)  
ἡ Καστινήτις τῷ φρονεῖν ὑπερφέρει  
πάσας· μόνη γὰρ τῶν ὑῶν προσίεται  
τὸ θῦμα

He also tried scazons:

τὰς Ἀφροδίτας (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μούνη)  
ἡ Καστινήτις τῷ φρονεῖν ὑπερβάλλει  
πάσας· μόνη γὰρ ἦδε τῶν ὑῶν θῦμα  
προσίεται

However, if I am right about Strabo quoting the incipit to identify the poem, there is no reason to assume that his sentence is a close paraphrase of Callimachus' words. Only the first line can stand as a fragment.<sup>64</sup> Strabo provides no more than a testimonium.

The two lines of fr. 200b survive in the scholion on Aristophanes, *Birds* 873:<sup>65</sup>

τὴν ὠγαμέμνων, ὥς ὁ μῦθος, εἶσατο,  
τῇ καὶ λίπουρα καὶ μονῶπα θύεται

The scholion discusses the epithet of Artemis *Κολαινίς*, and relates it to Agamemnon's sacrifice of *κόλα*.<sup>66</sup> The lines are attributed to Callimachus, but no work is named. The metre (trimeters) favours the *Iambi*, and *Dieg.* IX 9–11 offers a context. The attribution is conjectural, but convincing.<sup>67</sup>

If this is accepted, fr. 200b settles the metre of *Iambus* X: stichic trimeters.<sup>68</sup> There is, then, a group of poems in stichic metres following *Iambus* VII: VIII doubtful, IX almost certain, XI very likely, XII and XIII beyond doubt.

There are more. However, is τῷ φρονεῖν ὑπερφέρει what one expects of Callimachus? [Nor is Attic *μόνη* suitable for *Iambus*. L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>64</sup> If so, Strabo does not establish the metre: Pfeiffer on fr. 200b,2; below, n. 68. *ὑπερβάλλεσθαι* is normal Strabonian language: cf. Str. I 1,2 p. 2 about Homer ὃς οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν ἀρετῇ πάντας ὑπερβέβληται τοὺς πάλαι καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐμπειρίᾳ τὸν πολιτικόν. Parenthesis in the opening line: frs. 194,1; 195,1.

<sup>65</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; below, n. 79.

<sup>66</sup> Does this presuppose a full etymology, i.e. Ἄρτεμις Κολαινίς ἣ αἰνεῖ τὰ κόλα? Like Περφεραῖος ὁ περιφερόμενος in VII (above, Ch. 7 n. 14)? Below, n. 80.

<sup>67</sup> First suggested by Wilamowitz (1931) 290,3 (= 1955, I 284,3), and 183 (= 179), before the discovery of the *Diegesis* (Pfeiffer on fr. 200b).

<sup>68</sup> Herter (1937) 166f, at 167, and (1973) 220,18f; *pace* D'Alessio 632,123. Maas expected an epode (Pfeiffer's apparatus on fr. 200a,4), and thought that something had dropped out after fr. 200b,1 (Pfeiffer). After the incipit, he suggested: "weiter etwa ἡ Καστνίου μέδουσα πάσας ἐλέγχει τῷ φρονεῖν" (*Gnomon* 10, 1934, 438). He also thought one might "im Anschluß an col. 9,8 der Epitome noch spielen εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦδεθ' ἣ θεὸς τῷ θύματι, cūn οὐκ ἂν εἴλ' ὁ Μόψος (schon die Herausgeber haben wegen der Stellung des γὰρ ein Zitat vermutet)" (ibid.). Accordingly, he wanted to draw fr. 223 into this poem (Pfeiffer on *Dieg.*).



Both stories relate αἵτια for exceptional cultic practices:<sup>69</sup> Ἀφροδίτῃ ὅς οὐ θύεται;<sup>70</sup> κόλα are, of course, generally unfit for sacrifice.<sup>71</sup>

Aphrodite resents swine. However, the sacrifices to the Aphrodite of Mt. Castnion near Aspendos in Pamphylia are not the only exception.<sup>72</sup> Why, then, does Callimachus single out Castnian Aphrodite?<sup>73</sup>

In the surviving text (line 1), Ἀφροδίτῃ Καστινήτις is not mentioned. The reference is imported from Strabo. It has even been argued that “the presence of Καστινή in the διήγησις suggests that the form Καστινήτις was not used here by Callimachus”.<sup>74</sup> Did Callimachus refer, not to Ἀφροδίτῃ Καστινήτις, but—correctly—to Ἀφροδίται Καστινήτιδες?

It is, of course, possible that Callimachus opposed one particular Aphrodite to all the other ones.<sup>75</sup> But perhaps something else is going on here. Perhaps the Platonic claim ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία<sup>76</sup> proved unexpectedly pertinent. There are two Ἀφροδίται, Plato says.<sup>77</sup> Quite so, Callimachus replies, Aphrodite is

<sup>69</sup> The stock-in-trade of the *Aetia*. Fraser I 738; II 1037f, 178.

<sup>70</sup> Ar. *Ach.* 793f; Antiph. fr. 124 K.–A. (sacrifice of swine on Cyprus, but exceptional); Diogenian. I 89 Ἀφροδίτῃ ὅν τέθυκεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχαρίστων καὶ ἀνεπαφροδίτων, παρόσον Ἀφροδίτῃ ὅς οὐ θύεται; Ziehen (1906) no. 119 with p. 309. Pfeiffer refers to “Nonn. 41, 218”—a misprint?

<sup>71</sup> [Pl.] *Alc.* 2, 149 A 4 ἀνάπηρα θύουσιν.

<sup>72</sup> The αἵτιον is told in *Dieg.* IX 3–9. Cf. Lyc. 1234 ὁ Καστινίας τε τῆς τε Χοιράδος γόνος (i.e. Aeneas); D.P. 852f Ἀσπενδον, ποταμοῖο παρὰ ῥόον Εὐρυμέδοντος· ἢ ἐνθα κυοκτονίῃσι Διωναίην ἱλάονται with Eust., and the scholion: παραδόξως ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ κυοκτονίαις τιμῶσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. ἢ διὰ τὸν Ἀδωνιν θύουσιν αὐτῇ χοῖρον· συὶ γὰρ ὁμοιωθεὶς Ἀρης αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἢ ὅτι τοῦ Μόψου ἐξιόντος ἐπὶ θήραν ἠΰξατο τὸ πρωτάγριον αὐτῇ θῦσαι, χοῖρον δ’ ἀγρεύσας ἔθυσεν αὐτῇ. Cf. Str. XIV 4,2 p. 667; Pfeiffer. Other exceptions (Pfeiffer; Dawson 98f; D’Alessio 632, 125): Antiph. fr. 124 K.–A.; Str. IX 5,17 p. 438; Ath. III 49 p. 95 F (with Pfeiffer on fr. 200a,4); Lyd. *Mens.* IV 65 (with Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 58, 1923, 85 = *Kleine Schriften* IV 341; Pfeiffer), esp. εἴτα δὲ καὶ κύας ἀγρίους ἔθυσεν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ) διὰ τὴν κατὰ Ἀδώνιδος ἐπιβουλήν, τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων Νωνῶν ἡγουν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου; perhaps also at Halasarna on Cos: Nilsson (1906) 379.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Dawson 98.

<sup>74</sup> Dawson 96 ad Frag. a. Cf. Gallavotti 58; D’Alessio 632, 123.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Pl. *Smp.* 180 c–e; Cic. *N.D.* III 53–60. Above, Ch. 3 n. 64.

<sup>76</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 180 c 6f: εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἣν ὁ Ἔρως, καλῶς ἂν εἶχε, νῦν δὲ οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εἷς.

<sup>77</sup> Pl. *Smp.* 180 d 4–6: μίᾱς μὲν οὖν οὔσης (sc. Ἀφροδίτης) εἰς ἃν ἦν Ἔρως· ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ δύο ἔστών, δύο ἀνάγκη καὶ Ἔρωτε εἶναι.

twofold—in Aspendos.<sup>78</sup> Tongue-in-cheek pedantry bringing Plato into line with reality?

How does the second αἴτιον—if that is what it was—follow on from this? Was it announced at the beginning of the poem? Or did it come as an afterthought?

Perhaps, the transition was achieved like this: Aphrodite revealed her desire for wild boar by sending one Mopsus' way: εἰ μὴ γὰρ ᾗδετο ἡ θεός, οὐκ ἂν ὁ Μόψος ἐκυνήγησεν τοῦτο (*Dieg.* IX 8f). But, surely, this is not Aphrodite's province: was Artemis playing a practical joke on her? Perish the thought: Artemis herself shows even greater tolerance in the objects of sacrifice.

The *Diegesis* does not make it clear whether the legendary κτίσις of the cult of Ἄρτεμις Κολαινίς was recounted.<sup>79</sup> The reference to Agamemnon in fr. 200b, and the context of the scholion in which it is quoted, suggest that it was. If Callimachus went into detail about Artemis, fr. 225 could belong here:<sup>80</sup> if the poem closed with a brief catalogue of other examples, Ἑκάτη Εὐκολίνη could have been one of them.

Again, Callimachus is concerned with local statues of

<sup>78</sup> See L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI–XII (Paris 1960), 177–88: 'Monnaies et Divinités d'Aspendos', at 177: "la dédicace d'un autel trouvé à Aspendos et qui remonte à la haute époque impériale: Διὶ καὶ Ἥραι | καὶ | Ἀφροδείταις | Καστινήταις". The local coinage shows two divinities (Robert, Planches XXXV–XXXVI; cf. *Gnomon* 38, 1966, 507). On the date of the altar, cf. D. Hereward, *JHS* 78, 1958, 64f, at 64: "Early Roman." See R. Fleischer, *LIMC* II 1, 1984, 154. Robert, Planches XXXVII–XL: Mopsus hunting the boar (cf. E. Simon, *LIMC* VI 1, 1992, 653).

<sup>79</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus on fr. 200b; Dawson 99f; D'Alessio 632, 126. Sch. Ar. Av. 872a H.: Εὐφρόνιος δέ φησιν ὅτι ἐν Ἀμαρύνθῳ ἡ Κολαινίς διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα θύσαι αὐτῇ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου (H. : καιροῦ mss.) κόλον. Ael. NA XII 34 s.f.: Ἐρετρίεις δὲ τῇ ἐν Ἀμαρύνθῳ Ἀρτέμιδι κολοβά θύουσιν. Livy XXXV 38 mentions a *sacrum anniversarium Amarynthidis Dianae*. Paus. I 31,4f attests her cult at Myrrhinus in Attica (cf. Sch. Ar. Av. 872a H.). Cf. Hsch. κ 3327 La. Κολαινίς; Str. X 1,10 p. 448; O. Jessen, *RE* I 2, 1894, 1742, and 1743. The sanctuary is sometimes located at Aulis: Paus. IX 19,7; Dion. Calliph. 88–90 Αὐλὶς τε Βοιωτῶν πόλις, πρὸς ἣ λυμήν | κάρτεμιδος ἱερὸν ἅγιον, ὃ λέγεται κτίσαι | Ἀγαμέμνον(α) . . . Theognis I 11f is unclear (D'Alessio 632, 126 refers it to the sanctuary at Megara): Ἄρτεμι θηροφόνῃ, θύγατερ Διός, ἣν Ἀγαμέμνων | εἶσαθ', ὅτ' ἐς Τροίην ἔπλεε νηυσὶ θοῇς.

<sup>80</sup> Pfeiffer on *Dieg.*; Gallavotti 58. Playful 'etymology' (< κόλος)?

Olympian divinities.<sup>81</sup> In VII and IX, Hermes;<sup>82</sup> in X and XI, Aphrodite. (Artemis will recur in XII.) In X, we meet pan-Hellenic goddesses in provincial garb. Their preoccupations are not quite up to pan-Hellenic standards, and there is some quaintness in treating these venerable absurdities seriously.<sup>83</sup> The point is quite clear: the first example is followed by a second, even more outrageous one.<sup>84</sup> Callimachus insists on spelling out the details: τῇ καὶ λίπουρα καὶ μονῶπα θύεται (fr. 200 b,2)—can you believe it!

Speaker, addressee, and setting do not emerge from the incipit, but the deflating perspective suits the other *Iambi* well. Aphrodite seems to be rather keen on pork (*Dieg.* IX 8f); Artemis will take anything. Iambic potential can be detected, not only “in dem etwas kuriosen und vulgären Opfergegenstand”,<sup>85</sup> but especially in the capping conclusion.

Puelma finds a more elevated moral tone in the poem: “in seiner offenbar exemplarischen Funktion als αἶνος des φρονεῖν . . . und der Bescheidenheit” (ibid.). He also gives it a poetological twist by arguing for “eine literarkritische Pointe . . . , nämlich gegen die Gewinnsucht mancher Dichter”.<sup>86</sup>

This depends on a pointed interpretation of ἐπαινεί in *Dieg.*

<sup>81</sup> Pfeiffer's notes; Trypanis 138f. For Aphrodite, a statue is suggested by the local cult. For Artemis, note fr. 200b,1 τὴν ὠγαμέμνων . . . εἵσατο. The idiom: *Del.* 308f; cf. fr. 100,3; *Hec.* fr. 85 Hollis (with his note); above, Ch. 6 n. 15. Cf. Trypanis 141; Manakidou (1993) 248.

<sup>82</sup> Clayman 40.

<sup>83</sup> On ὡς ὁ μῦθος (fr. 200b,1), cf. the humorous disclaimers in II 15–17; IV 7f; fr. 75,4–9. Bulloch on *Lav.Pall.* 56; Howald 83 on fr. 612; D'Alessio 746,99; Stinton (1976). Cf. Norden on Verg. *A.* VI 14; Austin on Verg. *A.* I 15 and VI 14; Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I 7,23.

<sup>84</sup> Trypanis 139; cf. the two Heracles αἵτια fr. 22–5.

<sup>85</sup> Puelma 303.

<sup>86</sup> He makes fr. 222 the “Schlußpointe zu diesem Gedicht” (ibid.). Cf. n. 3: “Als Gedankengang des Gedichtes scheint sich klar zu ergeben: ‘Die Aphrodite Kastnietis nimmt Schweine gnädig an, die Eretrische Artemis gar alles, was man ihr anbietet, mag es noch so unscheinbar sein: und sie tun recht daran (φρονεῖν . . .) meiner Ansicht nach (= ich lobe sie mir: ἐπαινεί δὲ καὶ . . . *Dieg.*); denn ich selbst bekenne mich zur Muse, die sich mit Geringem zufrieden gibt.’” He combines fr. 224 + 222 accordingly:

~ ~ ~ φρονεῖ] τῷ γ' ἐμῷ δόκῳ.

~ ~ ~ οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω

τὴν Μοῦσαν ὡς ὁ Κεῖος Ὑλλίχου νέπους.

IX 9. Is the speaker really apportioning blame and praise in such a general way? Or is there irony below the surface? Aphrodite is praised for her *φρονεῖν*. Is this really the same as *σωφρονεῖν*? Or does Callimachus commend her cleverness in getting what she wants? The fragments, I think, favour the latter.

### D. Iambus XI

The *Diegesis* is all that survives (IX 12–24):

Ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν Ὑψᾶν, ὃς τὸ *cāmá* μεν Διημαρτημένως λέγεται παροιμία  
 “ἀρπαγὰ τὰ Κοινάρου”. “Κοινίδα” γὰρ χρὴ λέγειν. | ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ  
 παρῆλθεν Κοινίδας | μέτοικος ἐν *Celinoῦντι* πλουτήσας | ἐκ πορνοβοσκίας  
 παρὰ μὲν τὸν ἄλλον | χρόνον, ἐν ἐφήμιζεν, ὡς τὴν αἰσίαν | τῇ τε Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ  
 τοῖς φίλοις διανέμεῖν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡ διὰ θήκη εὐρέθη περιέχουσα  
 “ἀρπαγὰ | τὰ Κοινίδα”. ὅθεν ὁ δῆμος ἐξελθὼν | τοῦ θεάτρου ἤρπασεν τὰ  
 Κοινίδα. *Celinoῦς* δὲ πόλις *Cικελίας*.

Some textual points. What was written in 18?<sup>87</sup> In the same line, the papyrus has *αἰσίαν*. Editors accept *οὐσίαν* (Norsa–Vitelli). *τὴν αἰσίαν* (sc. *μοῖραν*, *μερίδα*), ‘their due share’, is not impossible:<sup>88</sup> the speaker promises his friends to leave them what they deserve—and surprises them in the end. If *αἰσίαν* is changed, one removes an elegant ambiguity deftly preparing the final twist. Zenobius has the promise: *τὴν οὐσίαν ἱερὰν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ καταλείψειν*.<sup>89</sup> This seems to support *οὐσίαν*. However, Zenobius simplifies: in Callimachus, the promise was made *τῇ τε Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τοῖς φίλοις* (*Dieg.* IX 19); in Zenobius, only *τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ*.

<sup>87</sup> Gallavotti and Dawson give *ἐνεφήμιζεν*, Norsa–Vitelli *ἐπεφήμιζεν*, Maas deletes *εν*. None of these suggestions accounts for the traces preceding *ε*. “*αἰέν* e Call. textu?” Pfeiffer’s apparatus (does not fit the traces). *Prima facie*, ‘*EN*’, i.e. *ἐν* (LSJ 2)? Pfeiffer I 506 on fr. 201 (not ‘200’) deletes the reference to *Dieg.* XI 3 (not ‘X 13’).

<sup>88</sup> LSJ *αἰσιος* II “meet, right, *αἰσιος* ὀλκή, Lat. *justum pondus*, Nic. *Th.* 93”. If correct, it will reflect the wording of the poem: cf. fr. 191, 56; above, Ch. 5 n. 21. On *ὡς διανέμεῖν*, see Wifstrand, *Eranos* 32, 1934, 41; Kapsomenos (1939–40) 190, and *ibid.* 23f (Pfeiffer’s apparatus on 20; Dawson 102); Castiglioni, *RIL* 74 III 5, 1940–1, 410 (Pfeiffer II 118); K.–G. II 357, Anm. 3b.

<sup>89</sup> Zen.Ath. II 77 vulg. I 31 (text in Pfeiffer).

The *Diegesis* gives the αἴτιον of a proverb.<sup>90</sup> Both are found in Zenobius, who refers to Callimachus' poem and the account of Timaeus (arguably Callimachus' source).<sup>91</sup> Beyond the story, the *Diegesis* offers a glimpse of its purpose (IX 12–14): διημαρτημένως λέγεται παροιμία “ἀρπαγὰ τὰ Κοινίδα”· “Κοινίδα” γὰρ χρὴ λέγειν. Callimachus corrects the vulgate (?) form of the proverb.<sup>92</sup> What was his evidence? The indirect tradition fluctuates between the two names,<sup>93</sup> but that may just reflect this poem.<sup>94</sup>

The opening line makes it possible to go a little further:

Ἄλλ' οὐ τὸν Ὑψῆν, ὃς τὸ cāmá μεν

The metre is odd: iambic pentapodies, presumably κατὰ στίχον,<sup>95</sup> like X, the peculiar trochees of XII, and the sczons of XIII. Not, it seems, attested elsewhere.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *Dieg.* IX 15 ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ παρήλθεν; above, Ch. 7 n. 8. For παρέρχομαι ‘come into use’, ‘aufkommen’, see LSJ III.3; cf. Arist. fr. 593 Rose εἰς παροιμίαν παρήλθε τὸ πρᾶγμα ‘passed into a proverb’, *in proverbium abiit*. Cf. D'Alessio 633,127. The pimp is familiar from New Comedy, and Herod. 2.

<sup>91</sup> Pfeiffer on *Dieg.*; *FGvH* 566 F 148; cf. E. A. Schmidt (1990) 129; Fraser II 1038,181; Dawson 104. On the paroemiographic tradition, see Crusius, *Philologus Supplementband* VI, 1891–3, 212; he traces it back to a comedy by Epicharmus (285f); cf. Puelma 287; Lobeck (1829) II 1031,40. Cf. also Euhemerus T 87–92 W. (above, Ch. 1 n. 79).

<sup>92</sup> Herter (1937) 167; Puelma 286 with n. 2; Trypanis 141; E. A. Schmidt (1990) 129. Fraser claims that “the opening statement, διημαρτημένως . . . λέγειν, is an addition of the diegete, like the last line” (II 1038,180; cf. Clayman 41). For the last line, this is obviously true. But for the first? ἀρπαγὰ suggests paraphrase of the poem (cf. Gallavotti 59). Zenobius has it, and he refers to Callimachus. Contrast Hesychius' ἀρπαγὴ τὰ Κόρνα. The opening protestation ἄλλ' οὐ τὸν Ὑψῆν suits the correction. <sup>93</sup> Pfeiffer.

<sup>94</sup> Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, p. 158 on Callimachus as the source of Zenobius: “unmöglich kann Kallimachos beide Formen erwähnt haben”. Surely, he must have done so, if the idea was to replace the one with the other?

<sup>95</sup> Pfeiffer; Herter (1973) 220,29–33; Puelma 285,3; Dawson 104. Kapsomenos (1939–40) 191 suggests an epodic form (ia 5 + lec), because ἀρπαγὰ τὰ Κοινίδα does not easily fit a pentapody, but ways to accommodate it can be devised. Gallavotti 59 presents the tag as a fragment (Puelma 287 adds Κοινίδα γὰρ χρὴ λέγειν from *Dieg.* IX 14), and Dawson 104 supposes that it was “probably distributed between two lines”. Ditto *Dieg.* IX 23 ἥρπασεν τὰ Κοινίδα?

<sup>96</sup> See Pfeiffer; Howald–Staiger 357. On the dubious evidence, see Denniston (1936) 130–2. Cf. *Suppl.Hell.* 1131A; D'Alessio 633,128. [Perhaps Callimachus was one of those who thought they had found it. L.A.H.-S.]

The opening line begins with an oath by the local river.<sup>97</sup> In its fragmentary state, the following relative clause is not entirely clear: it could refer to the river (e.g. ὅς . . . παραρρέει),<sup>98</sup> or to a passer-by (e.g. ὅς . . . παραστείχεις).<sup>99</sup>

The incipit establishes the situation. We hear someone speak from his tomb on the banks of the river Hypsas—presumably Connidas himself.<sup>100</sup> Who better to pronounce on his name? Of course, it all happened after his death; but then, on their tombstones, the dead can speak.<sup>101</sup> Connidas speaks under the guise of an extended epitaph.

Again, Callimachus exploits epigrammatic convention; again, a monument comes to life. The implied speaker of convention becomes the object of poetic characterization and inventive prosopopoeia. He becomes real: we are at his tomb, on the banks of the Hypsas; we hear his own voice, in his own Doric dialect.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Pfeiffer compares fr. 7,34 and 194,106 (see his notes); Kapsomenos (1939–40) 190f. The reading: Dawson 102; Pfeiffer's apparatus. *οὐ* *c. acc.* without *μά*: Pfeiffer's note, and I 506 on fr. 201 (not '200'); Herod. 5,77 with Headlam and Cunningham (principally Doric). Callimachus on rivers: *περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ποταμῶν* fr. 457–9 (Pfeiffer I 351).

<sup>98</sup> Gallavotti 85: "Ma no, in nome del Mudiuni, che il mio sepolcro (lambisce e protegge) . . ."; Clayman 40: "But no, by Hypsas, who (goes by) my tomb"; D'Alessio 635: "che il sepolcro mio [*lambisce*]". Could the river have proved the proverb right by eroding the tomb? Cf. Goethe to Eckermann, 5 June 1827; Arno Schmidt, *Bargfelder Ausgabe* II 1, 288.

<sup>99</sup> Dawson 103: "Nay, you that pass my tomb, in Hypsas' name"; Trypanis 140: "But nay, by Hypsas, you who (pass) my tomb"; Howald–Staiger 357: "Bei Hypsas, nein! der du an meinem Grab Vorübergehst . . ."; E. A. Schmidt (1990) 129: "Bei Hypsas, nein! Du, der am Grabe mir Vorübergeht . . .". One would at least expect a verb in the 2nd person. Even that is left to be inferred at Verg. *A.* VII 685 (if *pascit* is read in 684).

<sup>100</sup> Herter (1937) 167, and (1973) 220,29–33; Puelma 286; E. A. Schmidt (1990) 130; D'Alessio 634,128. Cf. Trypanis 140, but on p. 141, he suggests that "in all probability it later developed into a direct narrative by the poet" (mistakenly comparing IV, misunderstanding Dawson 104, producing no evidence from XI).

<sup>101</sup> Puelma 285; 287; Dawson 104; Trypanis 141; Fraser I 738; Clayman 40f; Herter (1973) 220,29–33. Cf. fr. 64; Phoen. fr. 1,11–24 P.; the survey at *GVI* pp. XIX–XXI; Ebert (1972) 21f; Ecker (1990); Merkelbach, *EA* 25, 1995, 71f, and *ZPE* 120, 1998, 15f.

<sup>102</sup> Dawson 104; Trypanis 141; *ZPE* 86, 1991, 33f. Reflected in *Dieg.* IX 13f; 14; 15; 21f; 23. Above, Ch. 5 n. 21; Ch. 6 n. 118.

Interpretation can start from the form. Epigrammatic convention is forced beyond its limits. The traditional speaker turns highly individual. Every tombstone gives a name: this one goes on about it. The conventions of epitaphs prove a stepping-stone for a learned disquisition: the aetiological correction of a proverb.

The speaker is highly emotional. What caused his irate outpouring? Was someone misquoting the phrase? Near his tomb? How were the scenic preliminaries reflected in the poem?

Much remains obscure. However, it is clear that Konnidas showed a misguided fervour for his mundane achievement. While still alive, he made sure that his death would be public business.<sup>103</sup> Now he is dead, and he still does not keep quiet.

What exactly is it that Konnidas insists on claiming for himself? At the heart of the story, there are the two versions of the will: the promise to Aphrodite and his friends, and the final triumph of the people. What is the speaker's point?

Schmidt suggests "daß das ursprüngliche Versprechen des Konnidas, die Bestimmung des Testaments und die Vollstreckung durch 'das Volk' alle dasselbe besagen":

"Aphrodite und die Freunde" (d.h. die Bordellbesucher, die Konnidas reich gemacht haben) sollen die Erben sein, und der δῆμος tritt das Erbe an: er hatte Konnidas durch Aphrodite in Form von Bordellbesuch reich gemacht und beerbt ihn jetzt, d.h. der Erbe ist Ἀφροδίτη πάνδημος, Aphrodite des ganzen δῆμος, und das sind die φίλοι des Bordellwirts. ἀρπαγὰ, "Raub", ist das Gut des Konnidas, weil es von ihm geraubt worden war, und deshalb soll es auch wieder Raub durch die Beraubten werden.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>103</sup> The will was read out in the theatre (*Dieg.* IX 23), i.e. in public assembly: cf. Dawson 105; Kolb (1981); Phld. *Acad.Ind.* ix 24–x 7 Gaiser = Dorandi; Apul. *Met.* III 2. Cf. Caesar's will (App. *BC* II 136; Plu. *Brut.* 20,1); *Act.Ap.* 19,29,31. A theatre at Selinus seems singularly elusive. One is shown on the eastern side of the town, just outside the acropolis, on the very glamorous reconstruction on pl. II of Hulot–Fougères (1910), and on Cavallari's plan (reproduced at *ArchClass* 36, 1984, following p. 128, where it is no. 16). However, these are not to be trusted: Ziegler (1921) 1287,56–68. As far as I can see, the theatre has not been found. Nothing in: Dörpfeld–Reisch (1896); Fiechter (1914), and (1930–50); Bulle (1928); Bieber (1961); Mitens (1988); Scaparro *et al.* (1994). (I am grateful to Dr E. S. Sherratt for help with this note.)

<sup>104</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 129f. Konnidas is a μέτοικος profiteer (*Dieg.* IX 16).

Why, then, is it the whole people, and not Connidas' clientele, who get their money back? Is it really convincing to say that the two are the same? The difference between the two versions of the will seems more pointed than that it could be argued away. The story does not culminate in justice restored, but in the surprise of expectant heirs cheated.

Puelma looks for a personal, erotic point.<sup>105</sup> The property of Connidas, he argues, are his *παῖδες* and *παιδίσκαι*. This, he concludes, implies criticism of a *περίφοιτος ἐρώμενος* of the *poet's*.

However, (i) τὰ *Κοννίδα* (*Dieg.* IX 23) are not identified with the pimp's personnel; (ii) no lover of the poet's is singled out among them; (iii) the poet does not speak in his own voice. Alternatively, Puelma suggests, one might see Callimachus as poking fun at a contemporary like himself. Again, unwarranted detail. Why not simply say that the poem caricatures, not an individual, but an attitude?

*Iambus* XI, I suspect, did not attack anyone in particular, and it is less "eine höchst witzige Kritik an einer sozialen Institution" than "ein geistreicher Appell, den Formen des Göttlichen nachzudenken".<sup>106</sup> It will have satirized the speaker's attitude to these themes: his cheeky view of what is due (*ἀλλοιον*) to the gods; his pride in what gives no occasion for pride.

Images of divinity are as important here as they have been since *Iambus* VI. In X, fun was being had at the expense of goddesses who took everything and anything; in XI, of a goddess getting nothing. However, the former, it seems, comes as the poet's report about strange facts. The latter is about an individual occasion, told through the medium of a speaker selected with scholarly concern for testimonial value.

<sup>105</sup> Puelma 286,3; cf. Dawson 104f.

<sup>106</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1990) 130.

ADDENDUM to n.44. For Hermes in gymnasia, see Pl. *Ly.*, esp. 206 D 1; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, (5 vols., Oxford 1896–1909), V 28f (with notes).



## 9

# *Iambus XII*

*Iambi* XII and XIII form a pair at the end of the Book. This assumes: (i) that *Iambus* XIII is the last piece of the collection; and (ii) that XII and XIII are purposefully placed at the end of a carefully designed poetic whole. Both these points will be argued in the Conclusion. Meanwhile, I proceed on the hypothesis that this is a collection arranged by its author.

With XII and XIII, we are back in the world of I–V. After divine statues (VI, X), some of them talking (VII, IX), an excited tombstone (XI), and local tales of gods and heroes (VII, VIII, X), we hear the poet's voice again. We return to the world of Callimachus and his friends (or enemies).<sup>1</sup> Callimachus, it appears, ends his Book with a celebration of the power and value of poetry in XII, and a defence of his own poetry in XIII. The two poems go together.

They also share their state of transmission. The main witness for the text of the *Iambi*, *POxy.* 1011, breaks off at *Iambus* IV 106 (the last line of fol. v<sup>r</sup>). It is not extant for any part of V–XI, but resumes with XII (on fol. vii), and continues with XIII (on fol. vi).<sup>2</sup> There are some other fragments, too, but for XII and XIII, our main source is again *POxy.* 1011.

These two leaves are extremely difficult to read. Most of the text as printed by Lobel and Pfeiffer can no longer be verified. Their editions have now almost replaced the papyrus as main witness; they are *instar codicis*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clayman 44: "It is not accidental that these sentiments are expressed after a series of *Iambi* featuring statues (6, 7, 9, and 11), which will decay long before his song. . . . In 12 then we come back to the world of Hipponactean *Iambi* (1, 2, 3, 4) where illustrative tales reflect on current events, where the poet has rivals and where the value of song over wealth needs to be defended." As XII shows, the poems are superior to the statues they present: the gods' physicality is not only odd, but perishable.

<sup>2</sup> Fol. vii contains the ἀγών θεῶν attested in the *Diegesis* of XII, fol. vi the defence of πολυείδεια attested in the *Diegesis* of XIII.

Much more text survives for XII and XIII than for V–XI, but almost all of it in a poor state of preservation. Indications of spacing and possible readings are always highly doubtful. How doubtful, is shown by the Michigan papyrus of lines 57–70. Its text is very different from the editions of *POxy.* 1011: mostly not because their texts differ, but because the latter is so often misread.<sup>4</sup>

Under these circumstances, detailed discussion of the numerous difficulties (on the scale of earlier chapters) has not proved practical. It would require more space than is available here. The *Iambi* need an extended commentary.

There are fragments of 86 lines, including (as it seems) the beginning, but not the end, of the poem. The incipit is preserved in *Dieg.* IX 25, and can be identified, together with the beginnings of five more lines, in *POxy.* XIX 2218. Thus, the first six lines of the poem are represented.

The identification of *POxy.* 2218 is not quite certain, but well supported. The *Diegesis* shows that the first word of the poem was Ἀρτεμι, and the first letters in the papyrus are αρτε[. Paragraphos and coronis indicate that this was the beginning of a poem. The trochaic metre, and the traces of Ionic dialect (in 3 and 5), both suit XII. Finally, Δικτ[ (2) looks like a Cretan place-name, and this would follow smoothly after Κρηταίων Ἀμνικοῦ πέδον (1). No absolute proof, but no real doubt, either. The papyrus contains the beginning of *Iambus* XII.<sup>5</sup>

If the identification of *POxy.* 2218 is accepted, how does it relate to *POxy.* 1011 fol. VII? In theory, there are three possibilities:

- (i) Fol. VII begins where 2218 breaks off, without any overlap or loss.
- (ii) The texts of the two fragments overlap. If so, by how much?
- (iii) There is a lacuna between both fragments. If so, of how many lines?

<sup>3</sup> Lobel (1934a) 176–8 (fol. VI), and (1935) 42–5 (fol. VII); cf. *Bodleian Quarterly Review* 6, 1929–31, 138–42, and 7, 1932–4, 233.

<sup>4</sup> Below, following n. 132.

<sup>5</sup> See Lobel, *POxy.* XIX, p. 46; Pfeiffer's apparatus on 1.

None of these possibilities can be excluded.<sup>6</sup> The only thing that is certain (if the identification of *POxy.* 2218 is accepted), is that 2218, containing the beginning of the poem, precedes fol. VII<sup>r</sup>.

Fol. VII itself is preserved to its full height, with margins above and below.<sup>7</sup> The recto contains 39 lines (fr. 202,7–45), the verso 41 lines (fr. 202, 46–86).<sup>8</sup> There is no reason to believe that, at the foot of fol. VII<sup>v</sup>, the end of the poem has been reached. It seems that the end of XII and the beginning of XIII were found on the recto of the lost upper part of fol. VI.<sup>9</sup>

How much is missing? Pfeiffer estimates the loss at “9 (vel 10) versus”.<sup>10</sup> But given that there are 33 lines extant on fol. VI<sup>r</sup> (and the same number on the verso), his estimate looks a little generous when compared to fol. VII (recto: 39; verso: 41). Was the line-spacing closer? Whatever the exact figure (and its distribution between XII and XIII), it seems certain that XII came to its end within the next few lines.

*Iambus* XII is written in catalectic trochaic trimeters *κατὰ στίχον*, a rare metre. The ancient metricians quote Archilochus fr. 197 W.<sup>11</sup> Before the discovery of Callimachus’ poem, it was not found elsewhere. Wilamowitz doubted its existence.<sup>12</sup> Korzeniewski still disputes that it was used by Archilochus.<sup>13</sup> However, the line was known as the *Ἀρχιλόχειον*, and it is an attractive notion that Callimachus is imitating the archaic

<sup>6</sup> Pfeiffer on 7f, and his apparatus on 6.

<sup>7</sup> Fol. VII was re-edited by Lobel (1935) 42–5.

<sup>8</sup> At the foot of the verso (but not of the recto), there is a stichometric figure:  $\overline{\mu\alpha}$  (Pfeiffer’s apparatus on 86).

<sup>9</sup> The *Diegeses* show that fol. VII precedes VI. Cf. Pfeiffer (1934b) 41; Herter (1937) 158; Dawson 105f. Before the discovery of the *Diegeses*, some thought that XII did not belong to the *Iambi*: Körte, *APF* 5, 1913, 544; Herter (1931) 425,35–46, and (1937) 161; Pfeiffer (1934b) 42f; Stroux (1934) 316,24.

<sup>10</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus on fr. 203,2–33. Fol. v<sup>v</sup>: 43; v<sup>r</sup>: 42; above, Ch. 4 n. 23. In theory, a whole leaf (or more) could be missing; but what would it have contained?

<sup>11</sup> West’s note; Pfeiffer I 200. Cf. Pfeiffer (1934b) 36–9; Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 241; Lobel (1935) 42; Herter (1937) 167; Maas, *Gnomon* 12, 1936, 96f, and (1962) 34 (§ 48); Dawson 116; Bühler (1964) 228.

<sup>12</sup> Wilamowitz (1921) 264,1.

<sup>13</sup> Korzeniewski (1968) 70.

master in his use of the metre. If so, Archilochus, too, will have employed the line *κατὰ στίχον*.<sup>14</sup>

We can approach the poem through the *Diegesis* (IX 25–31):

Ἄρτεμι Κρηταῖον Ἀμνισοῦ πέδον    Τοῦτο γέγραπται εἰς ἑβδομα θυγατρίου |  
γεννηθέντος Λέοντι γνωρίμῳ τοῦ | ποιητοῦ, ἐν ᾧ φησιν διενεγκεῖν | τῶν  
†δεμυθηεντων τῇ Ἥβῃ ὑπὸ | τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τὸν ἀσθέντα ὑπὸ | τοῦ  
Ἀπόλλωνος ὕμνον.

From this, it emerges that the poem was (or purported to be) written *εἰς ἑβδομα* (26): not for the celebration of a seventh birthday anniversary, but for the rituals and festivities associated with the seventh day after birth, the *Ἀμφιδρόμια*.<sup>15</sup> This is confirmed by *θυγατρίου | γεννηθέντος* (26f): the poem celebrates the birth of Leo's daughter only a few days later at the *γενέθλια*.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, the mythical tale told in XII is about Hebe's *γενέθλια* (21f), not a later anniversary.

The *Diegesis* records the name of the recipient: the poet's friend Leo (27f). His name must, therefore, have occurred in the text. Real or fictitious? We do not know.<sup>17</sup> What matters, is that the personal name creates a sense of reality, and a tone of intimacy.

29–31 refer to Hebe's *γενέθλια*, mentioned in lines 21f of the

<sup>14</sup> Snell (1982) 23; West (1982) 42; Sicking-van Raalte (1993) 111f. [The lengthening Ἄρτεμι Κρ- looks markedly Archilochean, an initial gesture towards the source. L.A.H.-S.]

<sup>15</sup> Pfeiffer on 5; 9; 22 (with Apollod. I 8, 2). Cameron 93f; Dawson 117 (on the lexicographical and scholiastic tradition). Cf. Denniston on E. *El.* 654; Samter (1901) 59–62, and (1911) 110; 113; Nilsson (1906) 115f, and (1967) 95; 115; Deubner (1952). See also Pfeiffer (1934b) 32f; Dawson 117f; Stengel (1894); Eitrem (1912); Süß (1912) 1278. The Seventh Day of the month has Apolline associations: West on Hes. *Op.* 770 (pp. 352f); Dawson 118f; *Del.* 251 with the scholion and Mineur; *Suppl.Hell.* 277 = fr. 115 Massimilla. On this, and other hebdomadal lore, see Roscher (1903), esp. 41–3; (1904) 92; (1906); (1911); (1913).

<sup>16</sup> Nilsson (1906) 116 refers to E. *Ion* 653 (cf. Owen's note). Birthday-poems and *λόγοι γενεθλιακοί*: W. Schmidt (1908), and (1910); Pfeiffer (1934b) 34f; Dawson 116f; Puelma 291 with n. 4; Hughes 114–16; van Dam on Stat. *Silv.* II 7; Cairns (1972) 112f; 135–7; 168f; 221. (All on anniversaries.) *Γενέθλια*: Pl. *Alc.* 1, 121c7; *HE* 1881; cf. Herter (1937) 167; Fraser I 573; II 817f, 164.

<sup>17</sup> Hughes 118–20. For biographical speculations, see Fraser I 739. Barber suggests that the Lycaenis of *Epigr.* 53 may have been the mother of Leo's daughter (*CR* 1, 1951, 82).

poem. 29 δέμνηθεντων must be corrupt.<sup>18</sup> What is required here, is the statement that 'the hymn sung by Apollo' (30f) 'surpassed' (28) 'the presents brought for Hebe by the other gods' (29f). This rules out Norsa-Vitelli's διυμνηθέντων:<sup>19</sup> the other gods bring gifts, they do not sing (or deliver speeches).<sup>20</sup> Rostagni offers δωρηθέντων; Pfeiffer διαμοιρηθέντων, or (δια)-νεμνηθέντων.<sup>21</sup>

The central idea of the poem, as it emerges from the *Diegesis*, is the pre-eminence of song. An inserted story (as in I and IV) affirms the superiority of poetry over material possessions, however precious or skilfully made.

What does not emerge, is how the poet handles his game of Chinese boxes. How does he move from frame to myth, and back again? How do myth and occasion go together? How does the speaker address his γνώριμος Leo? The nature of their friendship, and of the setting of this poem, is as yet obscure. How does the poet speak? How does he use his tale?

The poet begins with an invocation to Artemis (1-6):

Ἄρτεμι Κρηταῖον Ἀμνικοῦ πέδον  
 ἧ τέ Δικτ[  
 τιμίη. [  
 ἧ σε του. [  
 ἰ]ς τίη λ. [  
 ..].. [

5

Artemis' name opens the poem; the address is repeated in 4 σε.<sup>22</sup> The Iambus begins with an invocation, like a hymn. The relative pronouns in 2 and 4 belong to the traditional language of prayers, hymns, and other poetry of worship.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Pace G. Manteuffel, *Eos* 41, 1940-6, 98.

<sup>19</sup> τῶν δὲ ὑμνηθέντων A. Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 241. μνηθέντων E. Kalinka, *BPhW* 56, 1936, 712 (no. 26, 27 June 1936): "weil Ansprachen eher als Geschenke mit dem gesungenen Hymnus Apolls verglichen werden konnten". Cf. Hughes 114, 279.

<sup>20</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 32; Herter (1937) 167f; Puelma 290, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 32. νεμνηθέντων also Gallavotti, and L. Castiglioni, *RIL* 70 III 1, 1937, 57f (comparing *Ap.* 94 οὐδὲ πόλει τοῦ ἐνείμεν ὀφέλημα). Are διά-compounds suitable for a gift made to one person?

<sup>22</sup> Articulation implied by the accent on ἧ. ἧς ἔτ' οὐ is possible, but does not affect the address, and should have been marked.

<sup>23</sup> "Relativstil der Prädikation": Pfeiffer; Norden (1913) 168-76; Wülfing

How does the syntax work in 2? Pfeiffer suggests “fort. ἡ τε Δικτ[υνναῖον ἀμφέπεις ὄρος vel sim. potius quam Δικτ[αῖον”;<sup>24</sup> but he points out that “sententiae structura omnino incerta”. The problem is: how to construe ἡ τε? Two explanations can be excluded:

(i) epic τε after relatives.<sup>25</sup> Not likely here. After *Κρηταῖον Ἀμνικοῦ πέδον* (1), Δικτ[ in 2 suggests another Cretan place-name, and τε will somehow connect these two names. Besides, in a series of relative predications, one would expect a series of epic τεs. However, when the pronoun recurs in 5, the papyrus has ἡ σε, not ἡ τε. The question will, then, be: if τε is connective, how can it connect the two place-names?

(ii) Could ἡ be regarded as postponed, with τε linking the two localities? The inversion would not be difficult: much more daring cases are found in Callimachus.<sup>26</sup> But in this case, τε should come after the second place-name, not after ἡ: is ‘A ἡ τε B’ acceptable for ‘ἡ A B τε’? I find only one apparent example:<sup>27</sup>

*Αἴσηπον ἔχεις, ἐλικώτατον ὕδωρ,  
Νηπίης ἡ τ’ ἄργος, ἀοίδιμος Ἀδρήστεια.*

However, these two lines are separately transmitted. Their combination is modern conjecture. Even if it is correct, the text is not beyond doubt, and the syntax not complete.<sup>28</sup> This does not inspire confidence.

Where, then, can one look for a solution? The idiom that is wanted here can, I think, be identified. In Greek, it is found in an epigram by Posidippus:<sup>29</sup>

*ᾶ Κύπρον ᾶ τε Κύθηρα καὶ ᾶ Μίλητον ἐποιχνεῖς.*

In Latin, compare Catullus 36, 12–15:<sup>30</sup>

(1981); Race (1982); West (1997) 264–75. Cf. fr. 602, esp. 299 (with Pfeiffer) = *Hec.* fr. 116 Hollis (with his note); 238, 11 = *Hec.* fr. 17, 11 H.; Lehnus, *RIL* 109, 1975, 360f.

<sup>24</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus; Lobel’s note.

<sup>25</sup> Denniston 521f; Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 117 ὅν τε; Ruijgh (1971).

<sup>26</sup> Pfeiffer on fr. 6; Massimilla on fr. 8; Lapp (1965) 35–9, and 135f.

<sup>27</sup> Fr. 299 Pf. = *Hec.* fr. 116 H.; not fr. 301 Pf. = *Hec.* fr. 117 H. (‘epic τε’).

<sup>28</sup> Pfeiffer: “altero ἡ praecedente”.

<sup>29</sup> *AP* XII 131, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Catul. 64, 96 *quaeque* [i.e. et tu, quae] *regis Golgos, quaeque* [i.e. et] *Idalium frondosum*; Theoc. 15, 100 δέσποιν’, ᾶ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφίλησας (different idiom).

quae sanctum Idalium Uriosque apertos  
 quaeque Ancona Cnidumque harundinosam  
 colis quaeque Amathunta quaeque Golgos  
 quaeque Durrachium Hadriae tabernam,  
 . . .

Here, *τε/-que* follow the relative pronoun in lists of a god's favourite places. One could restore this idiom at the beginning of XII: 'Ἀρτεμ', <ῆ>. But the elision may not be acceptable, and there is no need to go so far. Once the idiom is recognized, the pronoun can be supplied mentally. It is easily understood after the vocative, and clearly signalled by *τε* (and the verb that must have come in the second half of 2).

In other words, ῆ in 2 is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.<sup>31</sup> *Versparung* is particularly frequent with correlatives (where the first element can be dropped).<sup>32</sup> I find no precise parallel involving a relative pronoun, but the present case is strictly analogous, because it is covered by correlative *τε*.<sup>33</sup>

An invocation to Artemis, goddess of childbirth and children, is appropriate enough on this occasion.<sup>34</sup> For how long does the poet continue his address? Artemis appears still to be present in 4 *κέ*. (If so, ῆ cannot refer to her.) *τιμῆ* (3) would be a suitable predication, and could be a vocative continuing the address.<sup>35</sup> It could also introduce a new subject in the nominative, to which ῆ (4) would then be looking back.

If ῆ (4) is without a preceding point of reference, it could be proleptic, e.g. of *Ἰ* *στῆ* (5).<sup>36</sup> This depends on how 5 is under-

<sup>31</sup> Kiefner (1964); Lapp (1965) 77f; cf. Wilamowitz on E. *HF* 237.

<sup>32</sup> Kiefner (1964) 29–32; Denniston 507f (*εἴτε*), and 511 (*οὐτε*); cf. Schneider on Nic. fr. 70,4.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. fr. 714,3 (with Pfeiffer's note): ῆ (sc. ὅτ' ἐς) φίλον ῆ ὅτ' ἐς ἄνδρα συνέμπορον κτλ. For *Versparung* of the subject, see Kiefner (1964) 32f.

<sup>34</sup> Pfeiffer on 1, and I 506. On Artemis Eileithyia and her cult at Amnisus, see Pfeiffer on 1, and (1934b) 33; Dawson 109. Note esp. fr. inc. auct. 786; fr. 524; Pfeiffer on fr. 79. Add Hsch. α 3722 La. Ἀμνικία ῆ Εἰλείθυια; Russo and Rutherford on Od. XIX 188; Bornmann on *Dian.* 15; Hunter on A.R. III 876–7 (cf. 881f); R. Olmos, *LIMC* III 1, 1986, 685f. Mt. Dicte: Pfeiffer on 2, and on fr. 707; Bornmann on *Dian.* 199–200; cf. Nonn. *D.* XIII 245f.

<sup>35</sup> Not *τίμι* ῆ *τ[ε]*: one would expect to find a breathing, and to see the cross-bar of *τ*. *τίμιος* *de dis* A. *Eu.* 967 *τιμιώταται θεῶν*, *de hom.* A. *Ch.* 556 *ἄνδρα τίμιον*.

<sup>36</sup> One would, then, write ῆ *κέ τ' οὐ* (to avoid asyndeton), 'and the one that'.

stood. *i]cτί(a)* is possible, but perhaps unlikely. Lobel offers *i]cτίη* or *Ἰ]cτίη*, and Pfeiffer suggests: “fort. *i]cτίη* Λέ[οντος”. A reference to carrying the child around the hearth at the *Ἀμφιδρόμια*?<sup>37</sup>

The opening prayer seems to continue when, with line 6, *POxy.* 2218 breaks off. It is unclear how much (if anything) is lost before the beginning of *POxy.* 1011 fol. VII<sup>r</sup>.

The poem continues on fol. VII (7–20):

.....]. γὰρ[...]. αἶνοι πόλεις  
 .....]κου μο[...]. οὔρεα βλέπει  
 .....]μες ὦ κά[λ]λιστα νήθουσαι μυ[  
 .....]ουρειησι. [...].. χθονός 10  
 ..]θετ' οὐχ “ὑμῆν” ἀ[  
 καὶ Θέμιν καὶ πα[  
 τῶνδ' ἄναξ. υδ' οἱ[...]. [...] οὐς[  
 φαυλ...β...]. [...] ναποῖ...[...]. [...] οὐς  
 ἔστιν οἰκ[...]. [...] ἀψευδέα λέγων 15  
 καὶ τάφο[ν τὸ]ν Κ[ρ]ῆτα γινώσκειν κενόν  
 φησὶ καὶ πατρῶ[ο]ν οὐ κτείνει Δία·  
 τοῦνεκ' ἀντή[αιτε] πρηεῖται, θεαί,  
 τῇδε' ἐτῆς εὐχῇ[σι]... αἰετομαι  
 Μοῦσα τῇ μικκῇ τι τε... ηναι μελ[ 20

After the break, it is difficult to find a way back into the argument: the context is lost; no coherent syntactical structure emerges (*γὰρ* in 7 is not much help).

Lines 7 and 8 could still refer to Artemis. (If so, 5 will be about the hearth rather than Hestia.) Artemis is associated with cities (*πόλεις* 7) and mountains (*οὔρεα* 8).<sup>38</sup> In *Dian.* 20–3, Artemis visits towns in order to assist women in childbirth. Is she here called to the feast, to come to Leo's house (again?), to

Cf. the first *quaeque* in Catul. 64,96 (above, n. 30), and Denniston 517 iv (for postponement of *τε*).

<sup>37</sup> Pfeiffer I 506. Or an address to Hestia? Cf. Pfeiffer; Athena, Artemis, and Hestia at *h.Ven.* 7–33.

<sup>38</sup> Pfeiffer's note, and (1934b) 33; esp. *h.Ven.* 18–20 (with Allen–Halliday–Sikes); *Dian.* 18f (with Bornmann); 20–5; 183f; Men.Rh. 334,29f (with Russell–Wilson; Page on *PMG* 55; Davies on *PMGF* 55 ii). Add on mountains: *h.Hom.* 27, esp. 4f, and 6f; Od. VI 102. The two cities: *Dian.* 122–35 (with Bornmann). Cf. Hes. *Op.* 225–47 (not about Artemis), and *h.Ven.* 20 *δικαίων τε πόλις ἀνδρῶν*; West (1997) 321f.



leave Amnisus and Dicte?<sup>39</sup> She may be described as entering cities,<sup>40</sup> and gazing upon her mountains.<sup>41</sup>

However, if the traces are correctly interpreted as two verbal forms, the change of mood is puzzling.<sup>42</sup> And why are there third-person forms in an address to Artemis? Has the poet turned to narrative?

The address to Artemis (or Hestia, or whoever it is by now) seems to come to an end with 7f. If *καὶ ὑμ]μεσ* is right at the start of 9, there is a new addressee.<sup>43</sup> Who are they? “Parcae, ut videtur”, says Pfeiffer. They could plausibly accompany Eileithyia, and attend (and sing) at *γενέθλια*.<sup>44</sup> *νήθουσαι* lends support.<sup>45</sup> At the end of the line, it is tempting to supply *μή[τους* (with Barber),<sup>46</sup> but this is apparently excluded by the papyrus.<sup>47</sup>

The text remains very uncertain. Even Pfeiffer’s version can be understood in more than one way. The addressees, it seems to me, need not be the Parcae: they could be the Muses. Might not the poet be calling on ‘you, who weave most beautiful (songs)’? Might not *νήθω* (if correctly read) be a metaphor for singing, rather like *ὑφαίνω*?<sup>48</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Dawson 109.

<sup>40</sup> 7 *]βαίνοι* Hunt, *εἰς]βαίνοι* Barber. *]β* looks possible.

<sup>41</sup> 8 *βλέπει*. The god’s gaze: Pfeiffer on fr. 1,37f; West on Hes. *Th.* 82; esp. Headlam on Herod. 4,73; Livrea on A.R. IV 475 (the evil eye); Bömer on Ov. *Met.* II 787; Falter (1934) 66f. Cf. *Dian.* 129. Giangrande argues that it is always benign, unless explicitly qualified as evil (*Hermes* 96, 1969, 713 = Skiadas [1975] 324). Cf. West (1997) 134; 528.

<sup>42</sup> 7 -οι appears now doubtful, -ει equally possible. However, Lobel had no doubt of what he saw: no dot under the ο in his transcript.

<sup>43</sup> 9 *καὶ ὑμ]μεσ* Barber, Smiley (Pfeiffer II 118). Suits traces and spacing well. Or -μέσῳ? 11 *υμειν* Rea, Parsons (Hughes 108,259). *ὑμῖν* in an Ionic poem?

<sup>44</sup> See Pfeiffer’s examples; add the Parcae in Verg. *Ecl.* 4, and (on a different occasion) in Catul. 64. Comparison with Vergil: Vazquez (1952).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Tib. I 7,1: *hunc cecinere diem Parcae fatalia nentes | stamina*. I cannot see *νήθουσαι*. A. S. Hollis compares Stat. *Silv.* I 2,24–6.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Lyc. 584f: *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μίτοις χαλκίων πάλοι | στρόμβων ἐπιρροισοῦσι γηραιὰ κόραι*.

<sup>47</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus. At least the last three letters—*μν*—are highly doubtful; *μή[τους* or *μή[λη* look impossible. [The choice lies between desperation, reading *μή[τους* as a misspelling of *μήτους*, and despair, declining to print these dubious letters. L.A.H.-S]

<sup>48</sup> Cf. fr. 26,5 (with Massimilla on fr. 30,5); B. 5,9f *ὑφάνας ὕμνον* (with Maehler); cf. 16,26, and 17,51 (*ὑ. μῆτιν*); 19,8 . . . *ὕμνοισιν ὕφαινε νυν . . . τι*

The next lines offer little help. οὐρείῃσι (10) even seems to return to Artemis and her mountains (the reading may well be wrong).<sup>49</sup> In 11, von Arnim's ἐλ]θετ' is plausible (especially in a ὕμνος κλητικός), but other supplements are conceivable.<sup>50</sup> If Pfeiffer's ἀ[εἰδουσαι ~ ~ is right at the end of the line, it would suit Muses and Parcae equally well: at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, for instance, Catullus has the Parcae sing,<sup>51</sup> Euripides the Muses.<sup>52</sup>

If there is a song, 12 could have given its theme: καὶ Θέμιν καὶ πα[τρὸς ἔργ' ὅς τῶν καλῶν | τῶνδ' ἄναξ (?).<sup>53</sup> If the Parcae are singing, they could be praising their mother Themis.<sup>54</sup> Alternatively, according to Pindar's Hymn to Zeus, a song was sung at the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia, telling of the Parcae leading Themis to Zeus.<sup>55</sup> And who sang this song in Pindar? If Snell is right, the Muses, to the accompaniment of Apollo.<sup>56</sup>

The identity of the addressee remains open. What follows, is even more obscure (13f): who is the ἄναξ? Zeus? Apollo? Is he still the subject of λέγων (15) and φησί (17)?

If there is a clue to 9–14, it must come from 15–20. Here, structure and argument become somewhat clearer. There is a third-person subject, presumably the same throughout,<sup>57</sup> and these lines must contain what is picked up by τοῦνεκα, 'there-

καινόν; Pi. fr. 179 S.–M. ὑφαίνω δ' . . . ἄνθημα (i.e. carmen); N. 4,44f; Il. III 212. πλέκειν; Pi. O. 6,86; N. 4,94. ῥάπτειν; Hes. fr. 357,2 M.–W.; Pi. N. 2,2. Cf. Ar. fr. 58 K.–A.; also 682; Harriott (1969) 92–104, esp. 104; Clayman 49f. Dover on Ar. *Ra.*, pp. 28f, and R. Schmitt (1967) 295–301, esp. 298–300.

<sup>49</sup> Pfeiffer considers οὐ Πείης: "sed propter diaeresin potius dat. pl." (apparatus). Barber suggests πᾶσιν ] εὐρείης ἐφ' [ οἱ ζ]ῶσι χθονός (Dawson 108; cf. Gallavotti 60). ]ευρείης is possible.

<sup>50</sup> ἄν]θετ', ἔκ]θετ' vel sim.: in theory, also ἐλ]θέτ', but after the plural address in 9, a plural is wanted here.

<sup>51</sup> Catul. 64,305ff.

<sup>52</sup> E. *IA* 1040–7; Handel's *Il Parnasso in festa*. Cf. West (1997) 482f.

<sup>53</sup> πα[ rather than πλ[ ("Θέμιν καὶ Πλ[οὔτον?" Pfeiffer's apparatus). Does ὕμν (11; but see above, n. 43) suggest a wedding-song? 'Come and sing, but not this time a ὑμέναιος'? Cf. Bion, *Adonidis epitaphium* 88f (with Fantuzzi and Reed); Sapph. fr. 44 L.–P.; Theoc. 18; Stern (1978); Cameron 433.

<sup>54</sup> Pfeiffer; Hes. *Th.* 904 (with West). Nonn. *D.* XLI 162 has a Θέμις Εἰλείθνια.

<sup>55</sup> Pi. fr. 30 S.–M.; Pfeiffer; D'Alessio 20f.

<sup>56</sup> Snell (1980a). Cf. Pi. *P.* 1; Thgn. 15f; Hughes 133f.

<sup>57</sup> 15 ἔστιν . . . λέγων, 17 φησί.

fore' (18). The subject 'speaks the truth': ἀψευδέα λέγων (15).<sup>58</sup> He knows the tomb of Zeus on Crete to be empty,<sup>59</sup> and tells no lies about it (or so it seems): in 17, οὐ κτείνειν may be correct, but what Lobel and Pfeiffer read as ν (in κτείνειν) has been re-read as δι. The snake is not there.<sup>60</sup>

One problem disappears, others arise. What seems clear, is that the subject is marked out by truthfulness and piety. Who is he? πατρῶ[ο]ν (17), if correctly read, would favour Apollo, and that would go well with ἄναξ (13).<sup>61</sup>

On the other hand, one could leave the ἄναξ aside, and think of the poet.<sup>62</sup> These lines prepare the prayer of 18f: τοῦνεκα (18). They should establish the *speaker's* claims and credentials. They should refer to the poet. The poet, speaking about himself in the third person ('your servant, Muses, . . .'), protests his truthfulness and piety. 'Therefore', he says, 'graciously hear my prayers'.<sup>63</sup>

The poet's prayers will be, not on behalf of himself, but of Leo's daughter. Pfeiffer brings this out by printing the genitive τῆςδε(ε) in 19: presumably 'for her', 'on her behalf'.<sup>64</sup> The genitive is difficult, and unnecessary. These prayers have to be on behalf of someone else, anyway: why else call them ἐταὶ εὐχαί, 'genuine prayers'? (No need to stress that you mean well when

<sup>58</sup> The context argues against -α ψευδέα.

<sup>59</sup> Physically empty as well as 'empty talk, a lie': LSJ κενός I.2; D. 18, 150 κενὴ πρόφασις καὶ ψευδής. The tomb: Jov. 8f (with McLennan); Nonn. D. VIII 117. A. S. Hollis compares Lucan VIII 872. Cf. *Iambus* I 10f against Euhemerus; above, Ch. 1, following n. 79.

<sup>60</sup> I cannot see it, but Lobel was certain about οὐ κτείνειν(ν). οὐ κτείνειν Δία Rea, Parsons, Coles (Hughes 105; 109,260): "does not say that Zeus was killed", "does not claim/pretend that he died, *mortuum non inducit*", i.e. is truthful, unlike the Cretans. Cf. fr. 203,55f. The poet does what he describes: above, Ch. 2 n. 37. The snake goes, and with it Pfeiffer's note.

<sup>61</sup> 15 οἶκ[ις]τῆς de Apolline anon. (Parsons). ἀψευδέα (15) suggests the god of the oracle: West on Hes. *Th.* 233. Apollo son of Zeus: *ibid.* 918–20 (with West). Or 'your servant, you Muses, does not lie about your father Zeus'? Cf. Hes. *Th.* 3–4; 25; 36; 53–63; 71; 76; 81; 915–17 (with West). Given that Callimachus stresses Artemis' Cretan connections (1f; 82), A. S. Hollis wonders whether his friend Leo could have been a 'truthful' and honourable Cretan who told no lies about 'his ancestral Zeus' and was therefore (τοῦνεκα 18) worthy of the goddess's attention and favour.

<sup>62</sup> Pfeiffer; Körte-Händel 104f; Howald-Staiger 358f; cf. fr. 612.

<sup>63</sup> Pfeiffer's notes; *Dian.* 268 εὐαντηγον ἀοιδῇ (with Bornmann).

<sup>64</sup> Pfeiffer articulates τῆςδε' εἰς, not τῆςδε τῆς (apparatus).

you pray for yourself.) I prefer τῇδε ἐτῆς εὐχῇ[αι: 'graciously hear these my unfeigned prayers'.

If this is the poet asking the goddesses (18) to grant his prayers, who are these goddesses to whom he is praying? πρῆξαι looks appropriate (even in the plural) for Ἀρτεμις Εἰλείθυια.<sup>65</sup> It could also suit the Parcae. And again, the poet might be addressing the Muses:<sup>66</sup> 'I have always been your true and pious servant—graciously accept my song!'

At the end of 19, perhaps εὐχῇ[αι] ἃς ἀείκομαι.<sup>67</sup> I should prefer εὐχῇ[αι] δ' ἀείκομαι: a traditional formula of transition, setting the poet's achievement, in best Hellenistic manner, alongside that of the Muse.<sup>68</sup> The vocative Μοῦσα in 20 suits this well; or does the singular create a difficulty after the plural in 18?<sup>69</sup> Is the poet addressing 'his own' Muse?<sup>70</sup>

The poem began with *Relativprädikationen* in hymnic style. Here, it reaches the end of the opening prayer with its hymnic *Schlußformular*. The opening section, it appears, goes down to line 20. The poet announces a song.

<sup>65</sup> Pfeiffer. On πρᾶξι/πρᾶος in Hellenistic literature, see Parsons, *MH* 53, 1996, 111; Braswell on Pi. P. 4, 136.

<sup>66</sup> Formally, it would be easiest if θεαί summed up all those invoked so far (to conclude the prayer); then a new invocation to the Muse: cf. Simon. fr. eleg. 11, 20f W.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Howald–Staiger 358; but see Pfeiffer's apparatus; ν]ὺν, ἀ]λλ', τ]ῇδε Gallavotti; αὐ] δ' ἣν ἀείκομαι Barber. Confused traces on the papyrus.

<sup>68</sup> *Passim* in *h.Hom.*; see esp. *h.Cer.* 495 (with Richardson); *h.Ap.* 1. 177f. 546; *h.Merc.* 580; 6, 21; 10, 6; 19, 49; 25, 7; 27, 22; 28, 18; 29, 14; 30, 19; 31, 18; 32, 19; 33, 19. Cf. Alc. fr. 1, 39 P. ἐγὼν δ' ἀείδω; Pi. fr. 150 S.–M. μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύω δ' ἐγώ (with Il. II 485f; Graf [1997] 476; West [1997] 103; 170–3; 269; 513). Hellenistic examples: fr. 112, 9 with Wilamowitz (1913) 299, 1, and Maas (1921); A.R. I 1f; Theoc. 1, 145, and 17, 135–7 (with Gow's notes); *Suppl.Hell.* 705, 21 with Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 83, 1963, 92 (= [1990b] 185). Cf. Simon. fr. eleg. 11, 20 W. (with Parsons, *POxy.* LIX, p. 32; I. Rutherford, *Arethusa* 29, 1996, 181f; Obbink, *ibid.* 196f, and 201); Cameron 155f, and 128 (on the Muses); Hutchinson 44; Häußler (1973) 119–21, and 130f (130, 5; *POxy.* XXXVII 2816 fr. 1, 8); Paduano (1970). The poet subordinate: *Dian.* 186 (with Bornmann); A.R. IV 1381f (with Livrea); Theoc. 22, 116f (with Gow); Austin on Verg. *A.* I 8–11.

<sup>69</sup> Pfeiffer. However, like Grenfell and Hunt, Coles and Rea thought they could see δούκα (Hughes 105). [For the singular cf. Verg. *A.* IX 525 *vos o Calliope*. L.A.H.–S.]

<sup>70</sup> Cf. fr. 75, 77; 112, 1; Verg. *Ecl.* 6, 2. Musengebet: Kleinknecht (1937) 103–16; cf. Falter (1934), and Häußler (1973).

The outline is clear, but the detail resists understanding. What is missing in 20 τε...ηται? Is the form nominal or verbal; nominative or dative; optative, infinitive, imperative? Neither τεκτενηται nor τεχθηναι seem possible,<sup>71</sup> nor can I read τι τεχνήεν μέλ[ος].

The mythical tale begins with 21–46:

ἡνίκ' αἰ[... ] υ[.] α τὴν γενεθλίην  
 ἐβδόμην Ἥρ[η] θ[υγ]ατρὸς ἡμέρην  
 ἡ[... ] ν οἱ δ' Ὀλυμπον ἡτ.ς.....οι  
 ἡ[... ] .[.] τις παῖ .[.] καλ[.] λίστη δόσει  
 π[... ] .α τιμήσει τ[... ] .....ερο.[ ] 25  
 Ζεὺς πατὴρ οὐ φαν.....[.....] ..[  
 πολλὰ τεχνήεντα ποικ[ίλ]α γλ[υφ]ῇ  
 παίχνη[ια] Τριτωνὶς ἥνικεν κόρ[η]  
 πολλὰ .....ιου πυλωρὸς αὐχένο[ς]  
 ἔκ τε τῆς .....[.] ..[.] .....[.] ης ἄλός 30  
 καὶ τὸ Τυρσην[ος] .....[.] .....[.] .....[.]  
 ε[.] πνι...χ' .....ε ἐκβάλλ[ει]  
 παίχνηα χρυσοῖο τιμηέ[ς] τ[ε]ρ[α]  
 μυρίην λ...ωδε ῥῆ[μα] .[.] .[.]  
 ῥηδίως λ[... ] .αι γὰρ ἡλ[... ] 35  
 πολλὰ κα.α. .[... ] ρος α[... ]  
 ἥγαγον μύθοις[ι] .....[.] ψ[... ] λ[... ]  
 ο[ἱ] [ἴ]σι τῆς μουνῆ[ς] .....[.] .ιγεν δάκρυ  
 παιδὸς ἡ[... ] .....[.] ληιστῆς[... ]  
 ἵππος αςτι[... ] δ[... ] ἡν[... ] .κην κρο[... ] 40  
 ἦλθε χῶ τακ[... ] .....  
 πάντα κα[... ] .[... ] .[... ] .ψ' ἄ[γ]ων  
 ἐργάτης[... ] λιστος οἷσι κυ[... ] .ν  
 τας[... ] ἡ στέψει σε σιγῆς .....[... ]  
 οἱ δ' ι[... ] γ[... ] λυκεῖαν ἀλλήλοισι ἔριν 45  
 θ[... ] έντες ἡμ[... ] λλῶντο δω[... ] νη[... ] πέρι.

<sup>71</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; Gallavotti offers ν]ὺν ἀείσομαι | μουσα, τῇ μικκῇ τι τε[κτ]ῆται μέλος (60), and translates (85): "ora, o Musa, canterò, per comporre una ninna-nanna alla piccina". What does he do with the infinitive? On μικκός, see Pfeiffer on fr. 475; Hopkinson on *Cer.*, p. 47; used as a name in *Epigr.* 48,1, and 50,2. The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* (The Aegean Islands. Cyprus. Cyrenaica) 313f lists examples for the following (and other related) names (all attested for 3rd–2nd cents. BC): Μίκα (Crete), Μικᾶς (Thasos), Μίκη (Cos), Μικίων/Μικκίων (*passim*), Μίκκα (Crete), Μικκη (Cos), Μικκος (Chios, Delos, Thasos), Μικκώ (Chios 4th cent.), Μικος (Crete), Μικων (Delos, Cos). Cf. II (Attica) 313f; Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (II) 923f.

Asyndeton marks the start of the narrative (21). A temporal sub-clause (ἡνίκα(α) in 21) is setting the scene: verbs in the imperfect establish, it seems, the background,<sup>72</sup> before the action sets in with aorists (preserved is ἦναικεν in 28). At the beginning of stories, ἡνίκα can have the tone of ‘once upon a time’.<sup>73</sup> Here, however, the setting is not so much that of a distant and mythical past, as of a timeless occasion.

This occasion is stated in 21f: τὴν γενεθλίην | ἐβδόμην . . . ἡμέρην (the accusative will depend on something like Smiley’s ἀρ[τύο]ν[ε]α, ‘preparing the feast’<sup>74</sup>). As argued above, this does not refer to a ‘seventh birthday’, but to the seventh day after birth.<sup>75</sup>

The beginning of 23 has been supplemented in various ways,<sup>76</sup> none of them quite convincing. Is the poet saying that Hera ‘was there, preparing’ (ἦ[κε]ν)? Or that she ‘was celebrating the day’ (ἦ[γε]ν)?<sup>77</sup> Both times, the emphasis sounds wrong.

In 23, δέ could be apodotic:<sup>78</sup> ‘when Hera was preparing the feast, the other gods vied for the most beautiful gift’.<sup>79</sup> Alternatively, the sub-clause could still continue, with δέ adding another κῶλον to the ἡνίκα-clause. The story moves on, from Hera to the other gods.

Why is Hera singled out? Because she does not bring gifts, and because Zeus is mentioned as the first of those who do (26)? Perhaps; it would add a nice homely touch: the housewife on her own, busily preparing for the party. However, it is possible that 22 does not refer to Hera at all, and that the sentence ran something like this: ἡνίκα (the parents) τὴν γενεθλίην ἐβδόμην Ἥβης θυγατρὸς ἡμέρην ἦγον . . . The papyrus does not help.

Lines 23–5 lead up to the ἀγὼν θεῶν.<sup>80</sup> In 23f, one expects a

<sup>72</sup> 23 ἦ[γε]ν Barber. Lobel’s ἦ[κε]ν would be resultative. Maas’s ἦ[ε]ν appears less likely.

<sup>73</sup> Above, Ch. 2 n. 4. Puelma 290 on ἡνίκα: “im Ton des Märchenerzählers”.

<sup>74</sup> Pfeiffer II 118.

<sup>75</sup> Above, nn. 15–16; Pfeiffer.

<sup>76</sup> Above, n. 72.

<sup>77</sup> LSJ ἄγω A.IV.1.

<sup>78</sup> For apodotic δέ after temporal protasis, see Denniston 179 ii. The bracket-shaped mark at the end of the line is unexplained; hardly a mark of punctuation (Pfeiffer’s apparatus).

<sup>79</sup> The main clause, introducing the ἀγὼν θεῶν, would have the character of a heading, and thus explain the asyndeton in 26.

<sup>80</sup> Pfeiffer on 23–45.

participle of a *verbum habitandi* to complete the phrase οἱ Ὀλυμπον (say, οἰκοῦντες).<sup>81</sup> The main verb should express that the gods are competing over the supremacy of their gifts. At the start of 24, ἦ[ρις]α[ν] does not fit, and Pfeiffer tries:<sup>82</sup>

... οἱ δ' Ὀλυμπον ἦρ[ι]σαν θεοί  
 ἦ[μεν]ο[ι] τίς παῖδ[α] καλ[λ]ίστη δόσει  
 πρ[ε]π[τ]ὰ τιμήσει.

Here, ἦρισαν sits awkwardly between οἱ Ὀλυμπον and ἦμενοι,<sup>83</sup> and the papyrus has punctuation at the end of 24 (which, however, may have to be ignored in any case).<sup>84</sup>

To sum up so far: in 21–5, an introductory narrative precedes the list of individual gods and their gifts in 26–46.<sup>85</sup> The latter comes to an end with apostrophe in 47, introducing Apollo and his song. The structure of 26–46 is that of a catalogue of gods and their gifts. It begins, perhaps, with the main clause after a long ἡνίκα-protasis.<sup>86</sup>

The first is Ζεὺς πατήρ (26): only one line, unless his section begins in the second half of 25.<sup>87</sup> He gives, it seems, οὐ φαῦλα, but what? Later, each god brings something appropriate and characteristic.<sup>88</sup> One would expect something more precise here, too. Barber's suggestion points the way: οὐ φαῦλον ὦ[πασεν] τέ[λος] (or κράτος?).<sup>89</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Nonn. *D.* V 571f ὅτε πάντες, ὅσοι ναετήρες Ὀλύμπου, ἢ παιδὶ μὴ θέλγοντο (in a passage related to this poem: Pfeiffer on 23–45, and [1934b] 33; Herter [1937] 168); VI 2; Dawson 111; Hughes 133f.

<sup>82</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; 25 πρ[ω]τα too short (not πο[λλ]ά); *ibid.* τ[ίς] ἀφνεώτερον Barber.

<sup>83</sup> Pfeiffer compares *Dian.* 24 ὅτι με καὶ τίκτους καὶ οὐκ ἤλγησε φέρουςα, but the parallelism makes this much easier. Transitive ἦμαι: *A. Ag.* 183; *E. Rh.* 547.

<sup>84</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>85</sup> Pfeiffer on 23–45 (should be 46).

<sup>86</sup> Unless δέ in 23 is apodotic: above, n. 78. Hughes thinks the gods come in pairs: Artemis and Apollo (123), Hera and Zeus (124f), Athena and Poseidon (125–9), Dionysus and Demeter (129–31), Hephaestus and Apollo (131f). He refers 31–5 to Dionysus, and compares the Tyrrhenian pirates of *h. Bacch.* 6–8 (129f).

<sup>87</sup> He cannot be the subject of τιμήσει: aorist is required (28 ἦνικεν, 37 ἦγαγον, 41 ἦλθε).

<sup>88</sup> Especially clear for Athena (27), Poseidon (30), Hephaestus (42 with 57), and Apollo's song. Cf. Gallavotti 61 for φαῦλα.

<sup>89</sup> Cannot be verified. Cf. *Ἰον.* 91–3; Nonn. *D.* V 127 Ζεὺς μὲν πάντα τέλεια (above, n. 81); Hughes 124f. Whitaker (1983) 35,39 objects to the notion

Second comes Athena (27f). God after god is presented asyndetically, with anaphoric πολλά:<sup>90</sup> an endless list of visitors and gifts.<sup>91</sup> Athena, appropriately, brings toys (παίχν[ια] 28<sup>92</sup>) displaying her fine craftsmanship (τεχνήεντα ποικ[ίλ]α 27).

At the end of 27, Barber's γλ[υφῆ] is attractive in the light of the parallels,<sup>93</sup> but the dative is difficult to construe: can ποικ[ίλ]α γλ[υφῆ] mean 'things variously adorned with carvings'? Körte's ποικ[ίλ]α γλ[υκέα] is easier.<sup>94</sup> And since the second iota of ποικίλος is short, word-end before ]αγλ[ is permissible: ποικ[ίλ] ἀγλ[αά] (Maas). Both suggestions are a little unspecific, but the asyndetic string of adjectives is good.<sup>95</sup>

At the end of 28, Hunt suggests κόρ[η].<sup>96</sup> Pfeiffer considers "κόρ[η] 'puellae' nuper natae vel fort. κόρ[ας] 'pupas'?"<sup>97</sup> With παίχνια, no other direct object is needed. With the other gods, no indirect object is mentioned. Hunt's κόρ[η] seems best.

Third, Poseidon (29–35?). Again, introduced asyndetically, and with anaphoric πολλά (29). In an elegant periphrasis, he is identified as the gatekeeper of the Isthmus (cf. 28 Τριτωνὶς . . . κόρ[η] for Athena).<sup>98</sup> After πολλά, there should be an epithet to go with αὐχένο[ς]. Neither Δωρίου nor δ' Ἰσθμίου fits traces and spacing (the latter would spoil the asyndeton).<sup>99</sup> Barber's supplement looks best: πολλὰ καὶ Ἀπίου πυλωρὸς αὐχένο[ς].<sup>100</sup>

that Zeus, as the father of the girl, would have brought gifts, and that these would have been outweighed by that of Apollo. In his speech, Apollo does not mention Zeus in this connection (Hughes 125).

<sup>90</sup> K.-G. II 345 c on the asyndeton; Lapp (1965) 80f is insufficient. πολλά: 27, 29, 36. For anaphoric πολλά in a list of gifts, cf. fr. 18,6f with Massimilla on fr. 20,7; A.R. IV 1704f with Livrea. However, there is no proof that 27 begins a new clause. In 29, Carden and Coles thought they saw an elision mark after the first illegible letter (Parsons; Hughes 106).

<sup>91</sup> The same impression, differently conveyed: Catul. 64,31–49.

<sup>92</sup> παίχνια: Pfeiffer; Gow on Theoc. 15,50.

<sup>93</sup> Pfeiffer; Hughes 127. Herod. 4,58f ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην | γλύψαι τὰ καλά. Cf. 66 εὖ ἐμίλησιν ἡκριβωμένην.

<sup>94</sup> APF II, 1935, 241; for the synizesis, he compares Herod. 6,71; 7,52 (cf. also 15 ἀψευδέα).

<sup>95</sup> ἀγλαὰ δῶρα Il. *passim*; cf. Od. X 223 οἶα θεάων | λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα πέλονται. For the asyndeton: K.-G. II 341f; cf. Parsons, *MH* 53, 1996, 113 (iv).

<sup>96</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus. Cf. AP VI 159,3 Τριτωνίδι κούρα.

<sup>97</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>98</sup> Pfeiffer; cf. Jebb and Maehler on B. 1,14; 2,7.

<sup>99</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus. For πολλά δ', see above, n. 90.

<sup>100</sup> CR 5, 1955, 242.



Poseidon brings 'toys more precious than gold' (33), 'both from the . . . sea' (30) 'and also the . . . of the Etruscans' (31). τε . . . καί seem to balance, but note the fastidious variation: a prepositional phrase (30) corresponds to the genitive of the ethnic (31).<sup>101</sup> The detail remains obscure: which sea? What are its gifts, what those of the Etruscans? And what is more precious than gold?<sup>102</sup>

How does 32 fit in?<sup>103</sup> And 34f? Presumably, γάρ (35) introduced a brief parenthesis: if, again, asyndeton and anaphoric πολλά in 36 mark the beginning of a new section and a new sentence (as in 27, and 29). Why, after one line on Zeus and two on Athena, is Poseidon given seven lines?

The next section is shorter, again: five lines (36–40). Its start is established by asyndeton and anaphoric πολλά in 36, its end by the arrival of Hephaestus in 41. Who is the divinity of these lines? The most plausible candidate is Demeter.<sup>104</sup> Barber's supplement refers to her explicitly, Smiley's by way of periphrasis.<sup>105</sup> The latter is preferable for papyrological and stylistic reasons. One expects an indirect identification, not simply the name.<sup>106</sup>

I have claimed that the section begins asyndetically, and it

<sup>101</sup> καὶ τὸ Τυρσηνῶν is rendered likely by the caesura, and looks acceptable on the papyrus. Etruscan craftsmanship: Cratin. fr. 139 K.–A. (sandals); Pherecr. fr. 90 K.–A. (lamps etc.). Perhaps Hdt. I 94 is relevant, esp. 94,2: φασι δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν cfίci τε καὶ Ἑλλήσι κατεστεώσας ἐωντῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι. ἄμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ cfίci λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι (. . .).

<sup>102</sup> Pfeiffer; cf. Sapph. fr. 156 L.–P. (quoted by Gregory as an erotic trope). Nonn. D. V 129 ἵππιος ὥπασε δῶρα θαλάσσια κυανοχαίτης (above, n. 81). Amber? From the sea (30), and associated with the Etruscans (31): Blümner (1879) 381–8, and (1897). Ὀρείχαλκος? *Lav. Pall.* 19 with Bulloch; A.R. IV 973 with Livrea, and Sch.; Allen–Halliday–Sikes on *h.Hom.* 6,9 (p. 374); Blümner (1887) 92; 96; 193–201; Schramm (1942); Wendel, *Hermes* 69, 1934, 344. Not precious, but at Pl. *Criti.* 114 E 5f πλὴν χρυσοῦ τιμιώτατον; cf. Ibyc. fr. 1,41–5 P. Or are the geographical references to the starting-point of Poseidon's journey to Olympus?

<sup>103</sup> In 32 ἐκβάλλων[ almost illegible; Pfeiffer's apparatus. In 33 τιμής[τ]ατ[α] Gallavotti; Pfeiffer's apparatus. I cannot discern the traces.

<sup>104</sup> Pfeiffer on 36ff; κα[ι] Δ[ήμητ]ρος ἄ[νθε] ἐντολῇ Barber (Pfeiffer's apparatus); κα[ι] ἀπὸ [μητ]ρός Smiley (Pfeiffer II 118).

<sup>105</sup> Presumably not a reference to Hebe's mother Hera (mentioned in 22).

<sup>106</sup> Note the periphrases for Athena (28), Poseidon (29), Hephaestus (41). Zeus (26) is a case apart, and so is the direct address of Apollo in 47.

seems clear that *καί* (36) is not connective, but climactic. If so, 'even' marks a special stage in the series of gods. Demeter is the only one who cannot come in person, whose mind is abstracted by grief and sorrow,<sup>107</sup> and even she sends presents.

This is confirmed by *ἡγαγον* (37), which must be third person plural: '(her servants) brought (presents) even from the (unhappy) mother, with words (of apology?) in which (they remembered) the tear of the lonely (mother)', or: 'with which (the mother) shed tears for her only (daughter)'. *τῆς μούνης* (38) seems fairly certain, but I cannot think of a suitable verb to fill the line.

*παιδός* (39) will be a reference to Persephone, and *ληϊστῆς* may go with it,<sup>108</sup> e.g.:

*παιδὸς ἣν[ίχ' εἶλε] ληϊστῆς [δέμας  
ἵππος ἄστι[πτον] δ[ι' ὅ]ρφ[ν]αίην κροτ[ῶ]ν.<sup>109</sup>*

The noisy horse will belong to Hades. In this section, the poet uses one story only: the abduction of *Κόρη*. Demeter has lost her daughter, but she does not forget little Hebe.

The fifth to arrive is Hephaestus (41–4).<sup>110</sup> Here, the anaphora of *πολλά* is dropped: *ἦλθε* does not emphasize his numerous gifts, but (after an absentee) the fact that he did come. This is also the point of *καί* (again, non-connective): 'but there *also* came . . . '.

Again, the new section is marked by asyndeton, and again, the new god is not named, but introduced through periphrasis: *χὼ τακ* (41), 'the one who', a male god.<sup>111</sup> His identity emerges from *ἐργάτης* (43), and is confirmed in 57, where Apollo acknowledges that he will have to compete against Hephaestus;

<sup>107</sup> Pfeiffer. 37 ]δαψ[ι]λ- Lloyd-Jones (Hughes 106; cf. Herod. 7,84). 38 ]πτεν Rea (Hughes 106). For the learned noting of absentees, Pfeiffer compares Ov. *Met.* I 583, Hollis Catul. 64,299–302.

<sup>108</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus: "potius ληϊστῆς ad παιδός quam ληϊστής, sc. Pluto".

<sup>109</sup> I cannot read this, or make out anything with certainty in 39f. 39 παιδὸς ἣν [ἥρπαξε] Barber. 40 ἄστιβής, ἄστικός, ἄστικτος, ἄστιπτος? κρότ[ο]ν? For κρο., cf. *h.Cer.* 6, and 18 (with Richardson): Hades appears ἄναξ πολυδέγμων | ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι *Κρόνου* πολυώνυμος νῖός (17f), and abducts Persephone ἀνθεά τ' αἰνυμένην ῥόδα καὶ κρόκον ἥδ' ἴα καλά (Hughes 131).

<sup>110</sup> Pfeiffer on 41ff. Cf. West (1997) 255.

<sup>111</sup> τακ[ or τὰ κ[? ἦλθε χὼ τὰ κ[υλλά] πορθμύων ἵχνεα Barber (with a dubious quantity).



In the second half of 47, a verb is wanted: something like 'you spurned (all your riches)'.<sup>120</sup> Apollo does not bring riches, but a song,<sup>121</sup> and the latter wins the day.<sup>122</sup> The scene seems to focus on Apollo choosing a present and trying to make up his mind: in 50, perhaps *κάλ]λιπες*, 'you left behind, neglected, discarded (as a gift)'. Then, a decision is taken: perhaps *φ]έροντί* *κοι*, 'to you, as you were about to bring'.

At this moment, his tripod stops him: 'to you, the tripod said/kept shouting' (51; the imperfect is odd). The tripod, it would appear, did not approve of the god's choice: '(let these things remain) under your roof' (52 *ὑπώροφοι*)?<sup>123</sup> It looks as though, in the privacy of his own home, before setting out for Olympus, the god of the oracle needs to be told what to do by his own prophetic gear.<sup>124</sup>

Finally, in 53, the poet introduces Apollo's speech.<sup>125</sup> As Apollo's reference to Hephaestus in 57 shows, this is not his reply to the tripod. The poet's introductory formula will somehow have contrived the return from Delphi to the celebrations on Mt. Olympus. The scene of Apollo choosing his present, and his tripod interfering, helps to concentrate attention on the role of song. It prepares for the climax of the poem: Apollo's speech.

<sup>120</sup> I cannot think of a suitable one. For traces and articulation, see Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. *Iambus* III; above, Ch. 3 n. 41; below, n. 191.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Hor. *Carm.* IV 8. The riches of Delphi: Pfeiffer; Williams on *Ap.* 35; Bornmann on *Dian.* 250. Pfeiffer's *ῥεκα*] accentuates the quantity better than Lobel's *τῶν αἰ]* (apparatus). 48 *ἀρχα[ίων?* 49 *δω]μάτων* Barber (Trypanis 144f). *ῥυ[τόν, ῥύ[δην, ῥυ[δόν?* Cf. Od. XV 426 *ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο* (I cannot see the traces). Dr G. Massimilla compares *Ἰον.* 84; *Suppl.Hell.* 239,2 = fr. 99,2 Massimilla; *Suppl.Hell.* 287,3 = fr. 48,3 Hollis.

<sup>123</sup> An inversion of the Pindaric topic of 'riches unused' (Pi. *I.* 1,67f)? On the vocalism of *ὑπώροφος/ὑπόροφος*, see Wilamowitz and Bond on E. *HF* 107, and Willink on E. *Or.* 147 (correcting LSJ). *ὑπωρόφιος*: Il. IX 640; Pi. *P.* 1,97; Ar. *Ra.* 1313 (parodic); LSJ, and *Rev.Suppl.* A close parallel in *AP* VI 2,1f ('Simonides'; *FGE* p. 218): *τόξα τάδε πτολέμοιο πεπαυμένα δακρυόεντος | νηῶ Ἀθηναίης κείται ὑπωρόφια*.

<sup>124</sup> For a similar joke, cf. the second triad of Pi. *P.* 9 (esp. 38, and 43-9; note the pointed postponement of *ἔρέω* to the beginning of the third triad). Juliane Kerkhecker compares Ov. *Met.* I 491. See Pfeiffer. Or 'left behind rich Pytho where the tripod kept uttering/no longer uttered because Apollo was away' (Parsons)?

<sup>125</sup> Pfeiffer compares *Del.* 265 *ἐφθέγξαι τοῖον*; Hughes 135; 136f.



lines is clear: '(you may bring those precious gifts,) but I shall offer something different'.<sup>130</sup> After this announcement, the god turns to self-exhortation (the asyndeton is caused by self-apostrophe): now, utmost skill is needed. πε[ιρ]ᾶσθαι looks good.<sup>131</sup> The emphasis on κοφῇ τέχνῃ prepares the ground for the most wonderful 'skill' of all: poetry (κοφία).<sup>132</sup>

For lines 57–70, the text is much improved by the Michigan papyrus (M). Where M and *POxy.* 1011 (O) overlap, there are some startling differences between the text of M and that first printed by Pfeiffer from O. These are not, on the whole, variant readings. In most cases, O has the same text, but was misread. This shows how difficult O is to read. There will still be many wrong readings lurking in the editions of *POxy.* 1011 fols. vi and vii where there is no other source against which to check them.

In 57, Apollo mentions Hephaestus (who immediately precedes him). The craftsman's gift(s) must have consisted of work in gold, for Apollo proceeds to argue its corrupting influence.<sup>133</sup> After Apollo's opening moves (54–7), the real argument begins in 58: the transition is marked by asyndeton;<sup>134</sup> the focus is emphatically on χρυσός.<sup>135</sup>

What is the point of the reference to the Indian ants (58f)?<sup>136</sup>

<sup>130</sup> δ[κχ]ήσ[ω δός]ιν vel δ[πλ]ήσ[ω Pfeiffer's apparatus (comparing fr. 356 δκχήσασθαι); δ[φ]λήσ[ω χάρ]ιν Terzaghi (1951) 176. On the 'hymnic future', see e.g. Fuhrer (1992) 126,470.

<sup>131</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus. The infinitive is not certain: cf. Il. X 43f χρεὼ βουλῆς ἐμὲ καὶ σέ, διοτρεφέες ὦ Μενέλαε, κερδαλέης (hence κοφῆς <σ> J. Gould). Is this an αἵτιον: Apollo inventing poetry?

<sup>132</sup> Whitaker (1983) 35.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. *Iambus* III; Prop. III 13,5, and 47ff. Pfeiffer: "καλά non satis placet". Nothing special, but cf. C. Bonner (1951) 135; Herod. 4,59; X. *Cyr.* VII 2,13; Hdt. I 207. Cf. Lorimer (1936); West (1997) 112.

<sup>134</sup> K.-G. II 346 e.

<sup>135</sup> Emphatic μέν: Denniston 360 (1).

<sup>136</sup> The evidence: Pfeiffer; Plin. *Nat.* XI 36; 33, 21 init.; 37, 54. Cf. Gow on Theoc. 17,108; fr. 384,15 with Fuhrer (1992) 153,573; S. fr. 29 R.?; Hughes 141f. Dr G. Massimilla compares Greg.Naz. *Carm.* II 2,1,265f (*PG* 37 p. 1470). Ἰνδικοὶ κύνες is a kenning, stressing the extraordinary size of these animals. The riddle (particularly teasing, because there are such dogs: Hdt. I 192,4) is solved by the apposition μύρμηκες in the next line. Cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 494f; Wærn (1951). For their identification with marmots, see Peissel (1984), and Karttunen (1989) 171–6 (with earlier literature). I owe these references to Dr S. R. West, who suggests that Callimachus may have conflated

Megasthenes stresses that they dig for gold οὐκ αὐτοῦ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ φύς(ε)ι γὰρ κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀρύσσουσιν, ἵνα φωλεύσαιεν κτλ.<sup>137</sup> Similarly, Theocritus points out that they labour for riches of which they make no use (and contrasts this, in Pindaric manner, with Ptolemy's judicious employment of his possessions).<sup>138</sup>

Is that important here? It seems that Apollo is maligning Hephaestus' presents by emphasizing, perhaps not their uselessness, but the ease and profusion with which those ants produce gold: 'Gold? Why, Indian dog-ants dig it up all the time!'

This would also appear to be the point of αὐτίκα (58). It is here commonly understood as 'for example',<sup>139</sup> but that cannot be right. One expects an argument against Hephaestus (just as 65–7 are directed against Athena and the other gods). αὐτίκα is idiomatic with the future in the sense 'forthwith'.<sup>140</sup> In this sense, it disparages Hephaestus' gifts: gold is 'available at once', ordinary, and vulgar.

Hephaestus' gifts may be golden, but gold is easily found: 'even Indian ants will produce gold for you in a moment'. αὐτίκα applies only to 58f: the first in an asyndetic list of argu-

the gold-digging ants of the Indians with the gold-guarding griffins of the Ἀριμασποί: 59 πτεροί! See Hdt. III 116; IV 13,1; 27; A. Pr. 803–6 (with Griffith); West (1997) 581,80; Karttunen (1989) 177–80; Bolton (1962) 66f, and 80f on ants and griffins (cf. index). In Callimachus, the Ἀριμασποί convey the yearly tribute which the Hyperboreans send to Delian Apollo: *Del.* 278–99, esp. 291 (with Mineur); Bolton (1962) 23; fr. 186 (with Pfeiffer on 12); Bolton (1962) 23, and 185,5; Massimilla's introductory note on fr. 97. Cf. Hdt. IV 33–5: at 33,3, the Hyperborean envoys are called Περφερέες; cf. Hermes Περφεραῖος (VII)? Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living* IV 8,3, refers to "the Mice of Africa hiding the golden oare in their bowels, and refusing to give back the indigested gold till their guts be out" (p. 204 Heber–Eden; p. 244,1–3 Stanwood). See also Goethe, *Faust. Der Tragödie Zweiter Theil* II 7100–11. 7187f. 7582–605. 7634–6. 7654–9; the commentaries by Witkowski, Trunz, Schöne, Hölscher–Lohmeyer; the *Paralipomena* to Act II, and esp. the *Schema* of 17 Dec. 1826 (Weimarer Ausgabe I 15.2, 204).

<sup>137</sup> Megasth. *FGrH* 715 F 23.

<sup>138</sup> Theoc. 17,106f, with Sch. (323,15–19 Wendel). For Pindar on δαπάνα, see Gow on Theoc. 16,30f.

<sup>139</sup> Pfeiffer compares *Ἰου.* 76 (see McLennan); Trypanis 147; C. Bonner (1951) 135.

<sup>140</sup> LSJ αὐτίκα I.3.

ments, one more serious than the other. Gold is so common that it often enriches the wrong one (which poetry does not): 'presently, there is more; and it is indiscriminate (60); and dangerous (61), because it breeds injustice and impiety (62-4)'.<sup>141</sup>

This interpretation has consequences for the future verbs in 58-64. *νικήσει* in 57 is straightforward: Apollo looks for a *κοφὴ τέχνη* 'that will (now) defeat' Hephaestus' gifts. The future tense refers to the immediate future of the speaker.

The same cannot be true for 58-64: these lines do not describe events imminent to the situation in which Apollo finds himself. This is why they are commonly regarded as a prophecy.<sup>142</sup> But this is not correct, either. Unlike the prophecy about the raven in the *Hecale*,<sup>143</sup> this passage is not presented as the quaint notion which a distant past had of a weird future, viz., the reader's present.

No, these lines do not describe a strange future, but an all too common present: they recount common facts; their tendency is generalizing, their tone gnomic.<sup>144</sup> Again, they question Hephaestus' judgement: 'Gold? Those ants will get you some immediately (*οἴσουσι* 59); and it keeps bad company (*οἰκήσει* 60), and dishonours old greatness (? *ἀτιμήσει* 61); and people sing its praises (*αἰνέουσιν* 64) while they trample righteousness under foot (62f).'

Is *καί* in 60 connective (and postponed),<sup>145</sup> or climactic? It is perhaps tempting to take *μὲν . . . καί* together,<sup>146</sup> but word-order suggests that *μὲν* in 58 is emphatic.<sup>147</sup> If so, *καί* should be

<sup>141</sup> Reinsch-Werner (1976) 359 compares Hes. *Op.* 220-4.

<sup>142</sup> Hutchinson 54: "... Apollo speaks . . . of what has not yet occurred (gold not yet having been discovered by men)"; cf. Fraser I 739; Fuhrer (1992) 126,470; D'Alessio 639,147. Pfeiffer (1934b) 34 is more cautious.

<sup>143</sup> *Hec.* fr. 74,10-20 H. Cf. *Suppl.Hell.* 265,1-15, with Fuhrer (1992) 124-7 (cf. 76f); *Del.* 88-98, and 162-95 (with Mineur on 153-96); *Lav.Pall.* 107-18; Hensel (1908); Heinze (1915) 395,2; Deubner (1921) 365-8; Nisbet-Hubbard I 189 (on Hor. *Carm.* I 15).

<sup>144</sup> K.-G. I 171 (3); esp. 172, Anm. 1. In 67, *ἀμαυρώσει* is, of course, a 'real' future.

<sup>145</sup> Pfeiffer. For postponed *καί*, he quotes fr. 178,3. C. Bonner (1951) 134 tried to avoid postponement by punctuating after *πολλάκις* (60). Clearly impossible, because of *αὐτίκα*.  
<sup>146</sup> Cf. Denniston 374 (2.i).

<sup>147</sup> Above, n. 135.



climactic: 'gold often takes its abode even in low dwellings', i.e. even the vulgar can be rich.<sup>148</sup>

This means that there is asyndeton in 60. Why? Argument is piled upon argument, a flood of objections is pouring forth from 58 onwards. (Only light punctuation after 59.)

Apollo's objections against gold continue in 62-4: men trample on justice, and praise gold. Again, the new point is added after the lightest of breaks, and asyndetically: καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . (62) are correlative; the first will not be felt as connective.

In 62, the papyri offer true variants: O has θ]εμιν, M δικην. A difficult choice; I incline towards Θέμιν. Zeus and Themis would both be present at the party for Hebe (12?), and Apollo is perhaps presenting the divine version of an *argumentum ad hominem*. Personification of Δίκη is, of course, quite common,<sup>149</sup> and Θέμιν may be *lectio difficilior*. The end of 62 remains elusive.<sup>150</sup>

Another set of variants in 64. O has κάλλιστον. M had first τίμιον, then κάλλιστον was written above it. (Correction, or *varia lectio*?<sup>151</sup>) κάλλιστον makes the more striking oxymoron.<sup>152</sup> Pfeiffer compares fr. 384,15, where gold is called a καλὸν κακόν,<sup>153</sup> and one thinks of Pindar's καλὸν πῆμα for the Hera-like cloud that deceived Ixion (*Pythian* 2,40): a similar turn of phrase, similarly using the force of paradox to reveal a misguided desire for a mere surrogate of beauty.<sup>154</sup>

<sup>148</sup> 'Gold is found among the low, and can dishonour (i.e. neglect, sneer at) old greatness'? Cf. Thgn. 523-6; 1117f; Hes. *Op.* 313 with West. For the end of 61, see Pfeiffer; τρόπους Barber, Morel : τόπους, or νομούς Bonner : νόμους Trypanis 146 : προδούς Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 80 (who compares, for ἀρχαῖος, fr. 110,64, and And. 1, 147; see MacDowell).

<sup>149</sup> Hes. *Op.* 256 with West; A. *Th.* 662 (cf. 645-8 with Hutchinson), and fr. 451n R.; S. *OC* 1382; Chrysipp. *Stoic.* III 197f; *Suppl.Hell.* 970 i 1-3. Esp. A. *Ag.* 381-4 λακτίσαντι μέγαν Δίκας βωμόν εἰς ἀφάνειαν. Printed by D'Alessio 640; Hughes 107; 135.

<sup>150</sup> καὶ Νόμου céβας Bonner; or γέρας? On 63, Pfeiffer compares S. fr. 501,2 (with Pearson and Radt). The normal expression would be (πέδον) πατεῖν: LSJ I.3; cf. *Del.* 227.

<sup>151</sup> τίμιον was not cancelled in M: Pfeiffer.

<sup>152</sup> *Pace* Reinsch-Werner (1976) 358, and Hughes 107; 135.

<sup>153</sup> Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 80 on fr. 384,15: cf. fr. 110,49 γειόθεν ἀντέλλον-τα κακὸν φυτόν (*de ferro*).

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Reinsch-Werner (1976) 246-8 on fr. 384,15 (compares Hes. *Th.* 585,

In 65–7, Apollo moves on to Athena and the other gods.<sup>155</sup> M confirms Barber's supplements in 65<sup>156</sup> (but it has δέ *tertio loco*<sup>157</sup>), and Smiley's reconstruction of 66,<sup>158</sup> as well as Pfeiffer's warnings on 67.<sup>159</sup> ἐμίλῃειν (66) supports γλ[υφῇ in 27.

All their gifts, Apollo says, time will destroy. For the sentiment, and the phrasing, compare Pfeiffer's note: "opponuntur a poeta auri vanitas et perennis carminis fama, cf. e.g. Theocr. XVII 115–20". However, this is not quite how Apollo puts it. His case against Hephaestus' golden gifts is a moral one. He does not say that it is perishable, and its associations in Greek literature are often with the gods, immortality, and eternity.<sup>160</sup>

It is only after he has argued against precious gifts of gold on moral grounds, that Apollo proceeds to disparage the gifts of the other gods as perishable, however perfect (66). Here, he establishes the precedence of poetry over the other arts; here, his argument is the eternity of song.<sup>161</sup>

In 68, Apollo opposes his gift to the perishable presents of the other gods: his song will remain. Pfeiffer and Maas looked for a verb to make this explicit. They felt that it could hardly come after the series of inverse ἀδύνατα beginning in 69,<sup>162</sup> but that it was perhaps lurking behind καλλίςτη.<sup>163</sup>

καλλίςτη deserves better. True, nothing new or surprising; but it is, after all, what the whole contest is about.<sup>164</sup> In using this word, Apollo claims victory. In stating 'my gift is the most beautiful', he is in fact saying 'it is free from all those shortcomings I have mentioned'. No need to spell it out: the contrast and *Op.* 57f); esp. 247,2 on fr. 202,64; 358 (argues that the oxymoron evokes Hesiod's myth of Pandora).

<sup>155</sup> Why is Athena singled out? Because she is pre-eminent? Whitaker (1983) 36; Hughes 125. And why is δόειν sg.? Dawson 114.

<sup>156</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>157</sup> Pfeiffer on fr. 1,24; Massimilla on fr. 1,12.

<sup>158</sup> Pfeiffer collects parallels. Cf. Headlam on Herod. 7,119.

<sup>159</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>160</sup> Whitaker (1983) 36; Hughes 138–40.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Hor. *Carm.* III 30, and esp. IV 8. For ἀμανρόω, cf. Simon. fr. 531,5 P.; B. 13,177; D'Alessio 641,152.

<sup>162</sup> Pfeiffer: "desideratur verbum ('meum autem donum manebit, dum . . .'), quod vix post sententiam temporalem in v. 71 sequi potest"; cf. C. Bonner (1951) 137.

<sup>163</sup> κείσεται Maas : λάμψεται Bonner.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. 24; 57. See Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 80.

(ἡ δ' ἐμὴ 68) makes it quite clear. Keep καλλίστη, and punctuate strongly at the end of the line. The following inverse ἀδύνατα state the reason for Apollo's claim: 'as long as . . . , (my poem will live)'. *Ergo*: causal asyndeton in 69.<sup>165</sup>

These inverse ἀδύνατα are quite popular with Hellenistic poets in Greek and Latin.<sup>166</sup> Here, the series includes a reference of Apollo to his own eternal beardlessness (69): compare the oaths of gods by their own divinity.<sup>167</sup>

70 is discussed at length by Pfeiffer:<sup>168</sup> "χαίρειν τινί significat 'laeto vultu vel animo accipere aliquem', negationem igitur exspectes ad χαίρειν post 'quamdiu' in v. 69; nam lupi non amici, sed 'infesti' sunt cervis [reading κῆλ]ἀφοις"]; and: "non-dum persuasum mihi habeo Callimachum scripsisse: 'dum lupi delectentur haedis'".

I am not sure that the problem exists, and would translate: "while the ravening wolves delight in kids".<sup>169</sup> χαίρω τινί can mean "rejoice at", 'take pleasure in' a thing".<sup>170</sup> This is how Horace understood the passage: *dum pecori lupus . . . infestus . . . intonsosque agitare Apollinis aura capillos*.<sup>171</sup> The decisive parallel comes from Plato, *Phaedrus* 241 D 1: ὥς λύκοι ἄρνas ἀγαπῶσιν, ὥς παῖδα φιλοῦσιν ἐρασταί.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>165</sup> K.-G. II 344 δ.

<sup>166</sup> Hor. *Carm.* III 30,7-9; Verg. *Ecl.* 5,76f, and *A.* I 607-9 (with Austin); cf. the 'Homeric' epigram at Pl. *Phdr.* 264 D. See Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 80, and cf. fr. 388,9f (with Herter, *Gnomon* 15, 1939, 208); West (1997) 514f, and 501f on Archil. fr. 122 W.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. fr. 114,5 with Pfeiffer; Massimilla on fr. 64,5 compares A.R. III 151; Kleinknecht (1937) 83, and 169f; Kassel (1958a) 235, and (1983) 8f; Ar. *Av.* 1614 (with Dunbar); Plaut. *Am.* 436, and 933; Pers. 2,21-3 (with Kißel on 23, and Herter, *Gnomon* 26, 1954, 79); Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* II 2,113f. See also LXX *Ge.* 22,16 (with *Ex.* 32,13, and *Ep.Hebr.* 6,13); *Is.* 45,23 (cf. 62,8); *Je.* 22,5 (cf. 51,26 = 44,26); *Am.* 6,8 (cf. 4,2, with *Ps.* 88,36 = 89,36). My thanks to the Revd Alan J. Green. Apollo's hair: *Ap.* 36f with Williams.

<sup>168</sup> Pfeiffer's notes; Fraser II 1040,196: "the line makes no good sense if understood literally".

<sup>169</sup> Trypanis 147.

<sup>170</sup> LSJ I.1a; Herter (*Gnomon* 26, 1954, 80) compares E. *Supp.* 282 χάρματα θηρῶν (sc. ἀτάφους παῖδας); see Collard. A. S. Hollis compares fr. 1,14, and Ov. *Fast.* VI 176.

<sup>171</sup> Hor. *Epod.* 15,7-9; cf. Mankin's note, also on 4,1. Ov. *Ib.* 41f.

<sup>172</sup> No conjecture is needed. Fraenkel *χράωσιν* (Il. XVI 352; Pfeiffer); -φωv *χαίρωσιν ἀρπαγ[ῇ]* Maas (Trypanis 146). Hughes 143f compares Il. XXIV 262. E. Grassi (*PP* 11, 1956, 207f) compares Pl. *Phdr.* 241 D, and Verg. *Ecl.* 2,63-5.

<sup>175</sup> Οἱ νικάτω τά[δε]? For τάδε pointing back to a preceding speech, see fr. 228, 52; 194, 44; Corinn. fr. 11 18 P.; Batr. 56; Führer (1967) 40f. At the beginning, οἷδ(α) or οἷδ(ε)—but how would it fit with the rest?

your song, Apollo'.<sup>176</sup> This seems to be followed by a promise in 78: 'I shall beget (a song)'?<sup>177</sup> Some kind of rivalry is also suggested by εἶκ' ἄναξ (79), 'yield, Lord'.<sup>178</sup> Are they competing for the attention of Leo's daughter? Barber suggests for 79f:<sup>179</sup>

εἶκ', ἄναξ· ἢ π[αῖς γὰρ οὐ]κ ἄλλοτρίη,  
ἀλλὰ μοι μητ[ρῶον ἐγγί]ζει [γέ]νος.

This is quite attractive: 'yield, Lord! (i.e., let me do the singing on this occasion) For this girl is *my* relation: therefore (ὦν χάριν 81) . . .'. As we have just been told, Apollo has had his own family gathering. Who will be allowed to make the song for Leo's daughter? The poet, or his god? The friendly quarrel compliments the poet's friend: even the gods want to celebrate his child.

At the end, the poet returns to Cretan Artemis: 'and therefore, (come hither), κουροτρόφε, (leaving your) Cretan (abode) . . .' (81f).<sup>180</sup> Is ὠγαθή (86) addressing her?<sup>181</sup> Not much is missing before the end of the poem.<sup>182</sup> Its conclusion is emphasized by a return to the goddess to whom the opening prayer was addressed.

Interpretation of the whole may begin with some remarks on form and composition.<sup>183</sup> *Iambus* XII, like *Iambus* IV, is a Chinese-box-poem. A specific occasion, dramatically evoked,

<sup>176</sup> 77 μιμείσθαι [τὸ] σόν (i.e. δῶρον, μέλος)?

<sup>177</sup> Cf. fr. 1,20; 203,14; Ar. *Ra.* 96 γόνιμον ποιητήν; 1059 ῥήματα τίκτειν; Cratin. fr. 203 K.-A. ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις σοφόν; E. *HF* 767 ἔτεκον ἀοιδάς; *Supp.* 180 τίκτειν μέλη.

<sup>178</sup> The articulation is in the papyrus, but why present? Cf. Pi. *I.* 1,6 εἶξον, ὦ Ἀπολλωνιάς. 3rd pers. sg. imp. ind. act. would be even stranger.

<sup>179</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; for ἐγγίζει, cf. Headlam on Herod. 4,84.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Pfeiffer; West (1997) 271f; 589; Barber, *CR* 5, 1955, 242:

ὦν χάριν καὶ πλ[εῖον, ὦ κουρ]οτρόφε,  
Κρήσιον κλῆτρός τε φ[οιτῶς]αι πέρι.

παιδ]οτρόφε Dawson 115; cf. the literature quoted by Graf (1997) 503. Vv. 83f e.g. ὕμνον δὲ τεκτῆν]αι καλόν | χρῆ καλῶ[ς]?

<sup>181</sup> Pace Pfeiffer's apparatus?

<sup>182</sup> Above, at n. 10; Pfeiffer on fr. 204.

<sup>183</sup> Some general discussions: Pfeiffer (1934a), and (1934b) 31-9; Rostagni (1934) 295-7; Herter (1937) 167f, and (1973) 220,34-52; Puelma 289-92; Dawson 105-20; Fraser I 739, with II 1039f,190-7; Clayman 41-4. Cf. Reinsch-Werner (1976) 356-9. Hughes detects "intertextual allusions" between *Iambus* XII and *Del.*: 136,328; 155-7.

gives rise to a poem that contains an account of a similar occasion with a similar poem. Comparison with the paradigmatic myth in choral lyric shows up the similarity of technique, and the contrast of sentiment. Public grandeur of poems on gods and kings has given way to something altogether more intimate: the privacy of a family celebration. The central myth is still drawn from the *Göttersage*, but it now adorns the day in honour of Leo's baby daughter. The ode has turned into an Iambus.

The formal surprise emphasizes the presence of its designer: Callimachus is, once more, very much in the foreground of his poem, and its central myth. The celebration of the victory of poetry amounts to indirect praise of the present poem.<sup>184</sup> The poet claims attention for his own role in the feast (again, one is reminded of Pindar).

Can we bear such self-regard? In the case of Pindar, the very grandeur of his vision makes wincing nicety appear petty. Praising song reveals the foundations of the universe. The whole of Zeus' creation culminates in those who sing its praise: the Muses.<sup>185</sup> The poet is the mouthpiece of eternity.

With Callimachus, no such visions, no such claims, no such grandeur. His self-regard is of a different kind. He is not addressing a public audience. He speaks in a situation of intimacy, and in the spirit of friendship. He shows Leo how carefully he has thought about what to give; and Leo, as his friend, will understand. There is perfect tact, and *noblesse de cœur*: the bolder the poet's claims and comparisons, the greater the honour for Leo and his little daughter.<sup>186</sup> On this occasion, he fights even Apollo.

And, perhaps, he outdoes him. Or does he? Apollo's speech seems only to announce and justify his present. Where is the song itself? After so much grandiloquent self-exaltation, one should like to hear it. Is Callimachus too tactful to offer something as 'Apollo's song'? Or is he playing on the lyric trope by which the promise of song is commonly understood to announce the very song in which the promise is made?

<sup>184</sup> Cf. Vazquez (1952), esp. 255 on *Ecl.* 4.53–9 (Verg. spelling out what is implied by Call.); Whitaker (1983) 33–7.

<sup>185</sup> Snell (1980a) 87; 89. Cf. D'Alessio 20f; Hughes 134.

<sup>186</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 35.

Callimachus himself at least produces the goods. But then, although his is a *γενεθλιακόν* with a myth about divine *γενέθλια*, the poem is ultimately about the beauty of song, just like Apollo's speech. There even seems to be an example of the same rhetorical promise in 'hymnic future' (τέξ[ο]μαι 78). These observations are not conclusive, but I hesitate to go further. The fragmentary state of the text makes it impossible to decide how the poet related promised verse to verse delivered.

Callimachus, I have argued, Pindarizes, but in a setting of friendship and intimacy. This is nowhere more palpable than in his choice and handling of the myth. The mythical story poses as a traditional piece of *Göttersage*. If it is, it is not an obvious choice. The *ἑβδομα* of Hebe are not widely known, and they never seem to have made it into the *Festkalender*.<sup>187</sup>

However, this is not just a question of Callimachus picking a recondite topic. He chooses (or invents) a story that allows him to pursue his interest in the *Realien* of Olympus neglected by classical poetry. The beginning of the Hymn to Artemis, the opening scenes of *Argonautica* III, the *Ἡρακλίσκος*: all narrative footnotes on the tradition, exploring the untold tales of divine domesticity;<sup>188</sup> all of them about children.<sup>189</sup>

In *Iambus* XII, the poet ennobles Leo's party by relating it to its divine counterpart.<sup>190</sup> Leo's happiness is the happiness of the gods. Or rather: the gods enjoy themselves just like Leo; the depiction of their family life creates a *frisson* of gladness and joy.

The setting is private, the myth breathes domesticity, and the poet's self-portrait, too, is more personal than, for instance, Pindar's. The poet makes Apollo attack wealth, and poems

<sup>187</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 32; Dawson 119; Trypanis 142.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. *Ap.* 58–64. On *Fußnotendichtung*, see *A&A* 43, 1997, 143f; Howald 65–85, esp. 68f; 69f; 72f; 76f; cf. 37f, and 42; Puelma 291 with n. 3. See also West (1997) 532f.

<sup>189</sup> Herter (1927), and (1937) 167; 294f; Kassel (1954). Note the insistence on *παίχνια*: 28; 33; cf. A.R. III 131–53. Hughes 116, 121f.

<sup>190</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 35; Dawson 119f. Cf. Snell (1980a) 91 on Pindar: "Das Zeitliche hat teil an dem Göttlichen; des Dichters Amt ist es, dies mitzuteilen." Hughes 116f compares dynastic poetry. Just a mirror-scene, or an aetiology of the festival describing the first *ἑβδομα*?

imitating *Iambus* XII suggest that he may have complained of his own poverty: a poem is all he can afford to give.<sup>191</sup>

Strong views on poetry, and grumblings about money, are the hall-mark of Callimachus' self-portrait in his poems. Here, they give the sharp taste of strong and pungent individuality suitable to personal poetry, with just a touch of self-mockery appropriate to the poetry of friendship.<sup>192</sup> One enjoys the Iambic cheek, and the gusto of the performance.

At the same time, this is a long way from the 'public I' haranguing *ἑταῖροι* at the *συμπόσιον*, so skilfully evoked in Hipponax' diatribe in *Iambus* I. This is an eminently private 'I', altogether more mellow, and speaking for no one but himself. Even when he takes a public stance, as in *Iambus* XIII.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. *AP* VI 321; 325; 329. Pfeiffer (1934*b*) 34; Puelma 290*f*.

<sup>192</sup> Puelma 291 with n. 4 emphasizes the "erzählerischen, sermo-haften Stilcharakter . . . dieses 'iambischen' Genethliakons"; *ibid.* 292 on *Freundschaftsdichtung*.

ADDENDUM to p. 237. Against *κάλ]λιπες* in XII 50, note Strunk *ap.* Nesselrath (1997) 151*f* (cf. 155).



## *Iambus XIII*

THERE are 66 lines, more or less complete. Line 1 is quoted in *Dieg.* IX 32, and several times in the grammatical tradition.<sup>1</sup> The main witness is *POxy.* 1011 fol. vi.<sup>2</sup> The recto contains lines 2–33, the verso 34–66. The sequence recto–verso is suggested by fol. vii.<sup>3</sup> There is no other external evidence to confirm this, but it is plausible on internal grounds. An attack preserved on the recto (down to 22) precedes the poet’s defence (on the lower half of the recto, continuing on the verso). In particular, the sarcastic quotation of the critic’s words (11–14) by the poet (64–6) confirms this sequence.

The extant text is incomplete certainly at one, probably at two, possibly at three points:

(i) Since the top of fol. vi is missing, it is certain that there is a lacuna of some lines after the last line of the recto (33) at the top of the verso.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) On the recto, the missing top will have contained the end of XII, and the beginning of XIII. The exact relations, however, are unclear. Line 1 could be identical with 2, or even with 3 (which would make 2 the last line of XII).<sup>5</sup> 1 could also immediately precede 2. Most likely is, perhaps, a lacuna of some lines between 1 and 2: this will allow enough room to establish a narrative frame at the start, and to lead from the poet’s words (in 1) to the critic’s attack (in 5).<sup>6</sup>

(iii) Finally, the end. The last line of the verso (66) may well have been the last line of the poem: the sarcastic quotation would make an admirable conclusion. But there is no external

<sup>1</sup> Pfeiffer; van der Valk (1983) 371f.

<sup>2</sup> Re-edited by Lobel (1934a) 176–8. Cf. Pfeiffer on 2–33; above, beginning of Ch. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Puelma 228, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Pfeiffer I 207; above, Ch. 9, at n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> The papyrus is badly rubbed and faded.

<sup>6</sup> If the poet is speaking in 1: below, at n. 18.

confirmation. It remains open whether or not the poem continued; and, if it did, for how long.<sup>7</sup>

The *Diegesis* provides a convenient starting-point (IX 32–8):

Μοῦσαι καλάι κ᾽πολλόν, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω· | Ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς  
καταμεμφομένους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυειδεῖα ὧν γράφει ποιημάτων ἀπαντῶν  
φησιν ὅτι | Ἴωνα μιμείται τὸν τραγικόν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸν τέκτονά τις μέμφεται  
πολυειδῇ | σκεύη τεκταίνόμενον.

From this, some important points (and questions) emerge:

(i) This poem is a defence against criticism (33f).<sup>8</sup> Like the prologue to the *Aetia*, *Iambus XIII* begins with the critic's point of view (or how Callimachus chooses to represent it). How does he present his adversary? With the benefit of narrative comment (as in fr. 1)? Or in dramatic form (compare *Iambus IV*)? And how does he represent himself? Remember, from *Iambus IV*, the elegant contrast of the two arboreal contestants, and the discomfiture of the speaker when his tale turns against him. Callimachus the author may depict the Callimachus of his poems with a certain detachment.

(ii) What is the critic's target: all of Callimachus' *œuvre*? Or is this a pre-emptive defence of the *Iambi*?<sup>9</sup> This does *not* depend on what is written in 35: ἀπάντων Norsa–Vitelli, ἀπαντῶν Maas. Even in Maas's (superior<sup>10</sup>) interpretation, the statement is, (a) generalizing (ποιημάτων, not ἰάμβων), and (b) at least partly prospective (γράφει, not a past tense). Prima facie, the *Diegesis* means all Callimachus' poetry: past, present, and future. But perhaps it is unwise to press the *Diegesis*. What does the poem itself say?

(iii) What is it about Callimachus' poetry that provokes

<sup>7</sup> Other fragments may belong to XIII: 204 between 1 and 2; 204a between 33 and 34 (unallocated bits of *POxy.* 1011)? 215, 219 (all quotations) could come from any of the three possible lacunae. For fr. 218, see *Suppl. Hell.* 304 = fr. 125 Massimilla.

<sup>8</sup> Wimmel (1960) 123–7; Treu (1963) 275–83; Scodel (1987) 206–17. For the principles defended, see Fraser I 735; 744–6; 760. For *Dieg.* IX 33f, cf. the Florentine scholia (on fr. 1) 8f (with Cameron 121). Cf. Delage (1940) 100f.

<sup>9</sup> Both, according to Hutchinson 55f. Cf. Dawson 131; Clayman 48; Rossi (1971) 83f; Schwinge (1986) 44f.

<sup>10</sup> For ἀπαντάω “‘counter’ an argument”, see *LSJRev. Suppl.* I.2a. Cf. index III (*Sermo grammaticus*) in Erbse's edition of Sch. II. (vol. VI).

the critic's anger? πολυείδεια (34). What does that mean? The ποικιλία of individual poems; the Pindaric wilfulness of unpredictable compositions; the 'crossing of genres'? Or the ποικιλία of Callimachus' whole *œuvre*; his generic versatility in general?<sup>11</sup> The two examples quoted in the *Diegesis*—Ion of Chios (36),<sup>12</sup> and the carpenter (37f)—favour the latter. But again, the *Diegesis* may have simplified where the poem is more complicated.

Of the poem itself, the opening line survives (1):

Μοῦσαι καλαὶ καὶ πολλόν, οἷς ἐγὼ σπένδω

The poem begins with a prayer, and σπονδαί. Again, the incipit establishes the dramatic situation presupposed by the poem: a συμπόσιον.<sup>13</sup> The exchange of speeches suits this setting well.<sup>14</sup> This could be a private party, or a meeting of the Μουσεῖον: perhaps after a meal of the θίασος Μουσῶν?<sup>15</sup> The latter may be suggested by the gods invoked: the Muses and Apollo. The poet's gods may, of course, also indicate the identity of the speaker.<sup>16</sup>

Who is the speaker of line 1? Pfeiffer thought, the critic.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> On εἶδος: Howald 17; Körte-Händel 105f; Fuhrer (1992) 21,47 (cf. 208). Cf. Scodel (1987) 208; Depew (1992) 313,3; Fantuzzi (1993) 47–50; Cameron 345; Gutzwiller (1996a) 129–33, esp. 131f; Hughes 61,149; 71; 76–8.

<sup>12</sup> Pfeiffer's note, and I 506; Cameron 320. Test. 15 Leurini (1992) 9. Cf. L. Leurini, 'La Suda, Callimaco e la πολυείδεια di Ione di Chio', *AFLC* 43 NS 6 (FS V. Loi I), 1985 (1987), 5–13 (*non vidi*).

<sup>13</sup> Pfeiffer on 22; *ἵον*. 1 with McLennan; Cameron 95 with n. 147 (cf. 64); D'Alessio 20f. Pfeiffer compares Plu. *Mor.* 164D. Hellenistic συμπόσια: Cameron 71–103. Depew (1992) claims to be interested in the (traditional) occasions evoked by these poems (at 316f). D'Alessio 645,157 compares Pi. *I.* 6,9, and dubs the symposiastic setting a "metafora della composizione poetica". Cf. Depew (1993) 63f; Hughes 47f; 50. Hughes 50–3 compares the parody of hymnic style in Hippon. fr. 32 W.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. fr. 43,12–17; 178 with Cameron 133–40.

<sup>15</sup> Fraser I 315f (Museum), and 312–14 (cult of the Muses); Mineur on *Del.*, pp. 10f; Boyancé (1936). Clubs and societies (and their dinners): Tod (1932); lit.: Pekáry (1975). Sacrificial meals in a Museum on Thera: *IG* XII.3, 330, esp. 129–31 (c.200 BC); cf. *SIG* III 1095–1120; Hands (1968) 36; 52; 79. (I owe these references to Dr A. W. Lintott.)

<sup>16</sup> Pfeiffer; fr. 191,8; 228,1f (?); *PMG* 941.

<sup>17</sup> Pfeiffer on 22; cf. Howald–Staiger 363.

The poet seems more likely.<sup>18</sup> There are only three poems among the *Iambi* in which the poet does not speak the opening words: in I, it is Hipponax; in VII, the statue of Hermes; in XI, the voice from the tomb. In each case, the speaker is immediately identified.

Admittedly, for some of the more fragmentary pieces the assumption that the poet is speaking may be wrong. Perhaps, a surprising revelation was to come at a later stage. But even this would presuppose that in general, unless specified, the speaker is the poet. Finally, it is clear that, wherever the poet is involved in personal controversy, it is he who speaks the opening words.<sup>19</sup>

This is more than a point of pedantry. It matters through whose eyes the reader comes to see the dispute. If I am right, the incipit establishes, not only the dramatic setting, but also the narrative frame and argumentative perspective of the poem. This is more than the first utterance in a dramatic quarrel: through his narrative, the narrator exercises control.<sup>20</sup> ἐγώ in line 1 is emphatic, presumably contrastive, and probably indicative of a claim exclusive to the speaker.<sup>21</sup>

When, after the lacuna, the text resumes, the critic is launching his attack (2-22):

|              |                                |    |
|--------------|--------------------------------|----|
|              | ]...[                          |    |
|              | ].....[                        |    |
|              | ] .ca.....[                    |    |
|              | ]ς διέπλευσα                   | 5  |
|              | ] .αλευσινηρδ .[               |    |
|              | ]τριτη . ὁ Μίμν[ερμος          |    |
|              | ]δ ...χ. ουκα .[               |    |
|              | ]ωτεσαπλ .ις[                  |    |
|              | ]..[                           |    |
|              | ]τ[.]ν ποδαβρε .[              | 10 |
| ἐκ γὰρ ..... | [.οὔτ'] Ἰωσι συμμείζας         |    |
| οὔτ' Ἐφεσον  | ἐλθών, ἥτις ἐστι .αμ .[        |    |
| Ἐφεσον,      | ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες |    |
| τὰ χολὰ      | τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται    |    |
| ἀλλ' εἴ τι   | θυμὸν ἢ 'πὶ γαστέρα πνευς .[   | 15 |

<sup>18</sup> Puelma 228; Hughes 48f (available copy incomplete).

<sup>19</sup> *Iambi* IV, and V; cf. II, and III; fr. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. frs. 1, and 194.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. 57-62; fr. 1, 2. 7f. 17. 37f.

εἴτ' οὖν ἐπὴλθ' ἀρχαῖον εἴτ' ἀπαι. | [...] [,  
 τοῦτ' ἐμπ[έ]πλεκται καὶ λαλεῖς | [...] .. [  
 Ἰαστὶ καὶ Δωριστὶ καὶ τὸ εὐμμεικλ[ι]τον[ι].  
 τ[ε]ῦ μέχρι τολμάς; οἱ φίλοι σε δήσ[ι]ον[ι],  
 κ[η]ν νοῦν ἔχουσιν, ἐγχείουσι τὴν [κράσιν  
 ὥς ὑγίει[ς] οὐδὲ τῶνυχι ψαύεις  
 ἣν δητορωκυπιπ[ε] [...] αι Μοῦσαι."

20

Various observations help to establish that this is the poet's adversary speaking:<sup>22</sup>

(i) direct address is preserved in 19–21;<sup>23</sup>

(ii) οὕτως in 23 suggests an *Abschlußformel* after the end of the critic's speech;<sup>24</sup>

(iii) a more moderate tone from 24 onwards suggests a change of speaker.<sup>25</sup>

There is also a piece of external evidence:

(iv) "24 in marg. sin. signum /, initium responsi indicans, ut supra fr. 194, 46".<sup>26</sup>

Until line 10, the text is very fragmentary. Later, the poet is blamed for not visiting Ephesus (11–14). Is his critic saying, in 5, 'I went there' (διέπλευσα)? In 7, Mimnermus of Colophon may provide another reference to an Ionian poet important to Callimachus.<sup>27</sup> What was he meant to prove?

I shall not get embroiled in the debate over fr. 1,9–12, but it is interesting that here, it appears to be the critic who adduces Mimnermus, not Callimachus.<sup>28</sup> Does this mean that the parties are not advocating different poetic models, but that they are quarrelling over different ways of following and imitating Mimnermus (and Hipponax)?<sup>29</sup> This is supported by 11–14:

<sup>22</sup> Pfeiffer on 22.

<sup>23</sup> Clayman 45.

<sup>24</sup> Führer (1967) 37,14; if οὕτως can be read: below, n. 49.

<sup>25</sup> Puelma 228; Körte-Händel 106; Howald-Staiger 363; cf. Hutchinson 49f.

<sup>26</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; Hughes 64,155; above, Ch. 4 n. 69. Dawson misses the change of speaker, and locates it at 30.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. fr. 1,11. Test. 11 Szádecky-Kardoss (1959) 10; Allen (1993) 27 (nothing in 146–56); Hughes 54f; 56–9 (considering ὁ Μίμνῃς from Hippon. fr. 28 W., or a related adjective). Or a form of μίμνω, μίμνήσκω?

<sup>28</sup> Wimmel (1960) 92f. If the context survived, things might, of course, look quite different.

<sup>29</sup> This is, I believe, what fr. 1,9–12 is about; *Iambus XIII* lends support.

'you pretend to follow Mimnermus and Hipponax; but you have not even been to Ionia where their poetry still flourishes'.<sup>30</sup>

10 πόδ' ἄβρεκ[τον would suit γάρ in 11:<sup>31</sup> 'but you keep your feet dry' (i.e. you stay at home; 10), 'for you do not meet Ionians or go to Ephesus' (11–14). After γάρ, one expects the main verb, but nothing can be read.<sup>32</sup>

What is the point of the critic's argument so far?<sup>33</sup> It is partly personal. Callimachus makes his critic play on one of his pet hates: travelling.<sup>34</sup> His adversary is seen to make personal remarks; he turns aggressive and insulting; he misbehaves at a symposium, when the poet was just offering prayer and libation. Judge for yourself, Callimachus says: do you like him?

There is more to it, though. Note the emphasis on learning in 14: μὴ ἀμαθῶς.<sup>35</sup> Callimachus, it seems, is blamed for using the Ephesian scazon without serious research and proper preparation.<sup>36</sup>

This takes us back to the question raised by the *Diegesis*. Ionian poetry, Ephesian scazons: these are references to the first poems of the collection, particularly to Hipponax in I.<sup>37</sup> The very metre of XIII (stichic scazons) returns, after eight

<sup>30</sup> Puelma 338f. Logically, the alternatives are incompatible, but not rhetorically: for the familiar trope 'X is a bad thing to do, and you aren't even doing it properly', cf. below, at n. 45.

<sup>31</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus; fits the traces. ἄβροχος Ἰον. 19 (with McLennan); *Suppl.Hell.* 250,10 = fr. 19,10 Massimilla; ἀβρέκτω γούνατι fr. 384,34; cf. R. Schmitt 60. ποδαβρέ L. Kurke (Hughes 60; cf. 60–2) comparing Hdt. I 55,2 Ἀνδρὲ ποδαβρέ. But what then?

<sup>32</sup> ἐκ in tmesis? Cf. fr. 194,50 συνέκ τε πέμπω. -ιουσι Pfeiffer's apparatus (also on 12; cf. his note; Hughes 62,154). I cannot decipher the traces. 'Ephesus', despite resolution, in two different *sedes*. On 14, see Pfeiffer; for τίκτειν, above, Ch. 9 n. 177 on XII 78. Hughes 66f.

<sup>33</sup> Fraser I 745f; Depew (1992) 325.

<sup>34</sup> Callimachus the non-traveller: fr. 178, esp. 32f; Massimilla on frs. 89–96; Pfeiffer II xxxix; Fraser II 1028,122; Meillier (1979) 170; Cameron 210–13 (cf. 451); D'Alessio 645,159.

<sup>35</sup> For μὴ, see K.–G. II 188 (3b): οἱ μέλλοντες = εἰ μέλλουσι. Not a "doubtful assertion", *pace* Hughes 68,166.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Luck, *GGA* 219, 1967, 60: "Fr. 203,13; 65 . . . ist wohl so zu verstehen, daß in Ephesos eine besonders gute Hipponax-Ausgabe zugänglich war." See also Hunter (1997) 43f. Poetic pilgrimages: Treu (1963) 279f; Bing 38f,60 (cf. 66).

<sup>37</sup> Pfeiffer on 13; Puelma 228; Dawson 131f; Fraser I 746f; Clayman 45; Cameron 162; 231; 358f; 372f. Test. 19 de Sousa Medeiros; Test. 46 Degani.

poems, to the form of I–IV. The critic is, then, concerned with the poems before us. His criticism is (primarily) directed against the *Iambi*, and provoked by them. Why is it, then, that the *Diegesis* reports, not objections to Callimachus' imitation of Hipponax in the *Iambi*, but to πολυείδεια in his *œuvre* as a whole?

A working-hypothesis. The focus of the *Diegesis*, I would suggest, is firmly on πολυείδεια as a result of the two comparisons (Ion/the carpenter) taken from the poet's reply. In his reply, however, the poet is shifting ground. He is not just addressing the critic's charges. He also seizes the opportunity to redefine the questions raised, through the answer he wants to give.<sup>38</sup> This, I shall argue, is a technique found elsewhere in Callimachus.

Still, the critic must at least have suggested somewhere that a poet should concentrate on one genre. Otherwise, the main point of the poet's reply would look rather futile. Where (and how) could that have been suggested? There are no traces in what survives; this leaves the fragmentary beginning of the critic's speech. Could it have looked like this: 'A new genre, again! You try too much. And, of course, you've got it all wrong: scantily prepared, skimpily executed. Can't you do one thing, and do it properly?'

Here, the two points are combined. The critic, then, goes into the details of period performance, and criticizes Callimachus' imitation of Hipponax. The poet, in reply, would take a wider view: instead of bothering about points of pedantry, he tackles his adversary's underlying assumptions, defends the variety of his own achievement, and laughs the pedant out of court. And this is the main point epitomized in the *Diegesis*.

Back to the text. 15–18 seem to fit the proposed reconstruction: an attack on the 'historically inauthentic' use of dialects (in this Book of *Iambi*). 15 is dark. (ἐ)πί (not τί) is guaranteed by the spacing; it seems to stand ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. But what about the end of the line?<sup>39</sup> In 16, I suggest: εἴτ' οὖν ἐπηλθ' ἀρχαῖον εἴτ' ἀπαι . [

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Hutchinson 77f; Cameron 372; Hughes 76–8.

<sup>39</sup> ἀλλ' εἴ τι θυμὸν ἢ τι γαστέρα πνεύσῃ Gallavotti, and p. 86: "ma se l'animo (tocca) o la pancia sia pure (una forma) antica o disgraziata"? Puelma 338 (and 339, 1) gives πνεύσ[η, ἐπ[έων], and ἀμαίε[υτον], and translates: "... sondern was

(not ἀπαίδευτον, it seems<sup>40</sup>), 'so: hardly has an obsolete or (rustic?) word occurred (to you), in it goes, and they talk (all manner of gibberish)'.<sup>41</sup> Note the perfect ἐμπ[έ]πλεκται (17),<sup>42</sup> and the derogatory tone of λαλέω.<sup>43</sup>

The critic complains of Callimachus' λέξις: he objects not just to obscure learning, but to its indiscriminate application. If 'obsolete and rustic' is along the right lines, the influence of Old Comedy makes itself felt, again.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Callimachus is constantly changing and mixing up his dialects (18): he uses Ionic (as in I–V, VIII, X, XII, XIII); Doric (VI, IX, XI); and a mixture of Doric and Aeolic that has been claimed to be Cyrenaean (VII). Again, the critic appears to have in mind particularly the collection of *Iambi*.<sup>45</sup> 'You are not content with Hipponax' Ias, and even if I grant you a Doric Iambus, you don't keep that pure, either!'

dir gerade durch Herz oder Bauch 'weht', sei es ein uraltes oder ein noch 'ungeborenes' (Wort)". Trypanis (149) translates Pfeiffer's text: "But if something (appeals) to the heart or the stomach, . . .". Cf. Fraser I 745; Körte-Händel 105: "wenn dir etwas in Sinn oder Magen kommt, sei es etwas Altes oder . . ."; D'Alessio 645: "ma se qualcosa al cuore o al ventre ispiri (?)". Hughes 70f.

<sup>40</sup> Traces look like π[; cf. Pfeiffer's apparatus; ἀπαρτη[θέν, i.e. 'semotum' Radermacher (1923) 3; ἀνάρτητον, 'incompositum' Platt, *CQ* 4, 1910, 113; ἀμαρτηρόν Diels (Gallavotti); ἐτ[ῶς] . . . ἀπαρ[τις]θέν Barber (Trypanis).

<sup>41</sup> Not ἐπ[έων] (Pfeiffer, Gallavotti, Puelma): θ is visible. LSJ ἐπέρχομαι I.3; ἀρχαῖος I.2 with Radermacher (1923) 3.

<sup>42</sup> 'It goes straight in, is already included, without a moment's thought.' For the metaphor, see above, Ch. 9 n. 48 on XII 9. Hughes 71, 176 compares Pl. *Lg.* II 669D2–5.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. fr. 191, 11; 192, 14; Depew (1992) 324, 32; Hughes 71f. λαλεῦς[ιν] ὡαύτως Gallavotti; λαλεῦς[ιν] ἄλλ' ἄλλως Pfeiffer.

<sup>44</sup> Lebek, *Hermes* 97, 1969, 69. Cf. Wilamowitz (1924) I 211f; Dawson 125; Körte-Händel 106; Clayman 45. Differently Hutchinson 55.

<sup>45</sup> Pfeiffer; Gallavotti 19f; Dawson 132, and 143; Fraser II 1050, 244 (cf. I 735; 746f; 760f); D'Alessio 646, 161; Depew (1992) 325; Cameron 443; Hughes 60; Hunter (1997) 42f; cf. Legrand (1924) 115–20; above, Ch. 6 n. 118. Cameron 152, and (1992) 307, compares the "mixture of Doric and Aeolic" in Erinna's lament (*Suppl. Hell.* 400–1). See Radermacher (1923); cf. Quint. *Inst.* VIII 3, 59; Cassiod. *PL* 70 p. 421 A. Supplements in 18 and 19 are confirmed: Pfeiffer I 506. For the tripartite disjunction, see Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 1137, and Hunter on Eub. fr. 7, 1 (= 6, 1 K.–A.). [However, Cyrenaean used ἀπό not ἀπύ, nor does retention of proto-Greek and Indo-European ἐccí prove an 'Aeolic' development of \*ἐcμί into ἐμμί instead of ἡμί. L.A.H.–S.]



The critic's speech ends, in 19–22, with a crude insult: he declares the poet to be mad. His aggressive (mis)demeanour at a symposium inclines our sympathies towards Callimachus. The very last line (22) remains dark, but 19–21 are clear enough: they read like an illustration to the quarrelling scholars of *Iambus* I 78–98, and this reference is picked up below, in the poet's reply (50ff).<sup>46</sup>

This is patently one of the scholars whose behaviour was chastised by Hipponax. To make it quite obvious how abominably he is behaving, there is a reminder of the symposiastic setting: the customary Toast to Health is mentioned in 20. It ties the poem, and this particular speech, to its imagined dramatic background, and makes it difficult not to notice who is spoiling the party for everyone else.<sup>47</sup>

First the critic's attack, then the poet's reply. This is its first part (23–33):<sup>48</sup>

οὐτως...ται κα[...].[.]ν[...].ην[...].μ...  
 “ὦ λῶστ’, ἐρῆμος[...].ρ ἡ ῥῆσις  
 ἄκου...οικε[...].[...].ην...πέπλ[ον] 25  
 οὐ πολλὰ [...].λ...υ.ε τὰς Μούσας  
 ὥσπερ λ...ε...ἀπεμπολῇ κόψας  
 ἐν τῷδεδῶ...ρ.ολ[...].ιν εὐρίσκειν  
 καλὰς ἀοιδ[ὰς].....αἰρεῦνται  
 τίς εἶπεν αὐτ[...].λε...ρ.[...]. 30  
 cὺ πεντάμετρα συντίθει, cὺ δ’ ἡ[ρῶο]ν,  
 cὺ δὲ τραγωδε[ῖν] ἐκ θεῶν ἐκκληρώσω;  
 δοκέω μὲν οὐδεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ το.δ...κεῖναι

<sup>46</sup> Clayman 46; Cameron 440; Hughes 46f; 72; 102 (cf. 57; 64,155/157; 75; 78,195; 84f; 95; 199,442). On 19 τολμᾶς, see Macleod (1977) 362,14. I should prefer οὐ φίλοι (pap. illegible). A. S. Hollis compares Hor. *Ars* 453–76; *Ep.* II 2,138; Prop. I 1,25f; III 24,9.

<sup>47</sup> The *poculum Sanitatis*: Pfeiffer on 20f; Headlam on Herod. 4,94; Ath. XV 47 pp. 692 f–693 c; Hsch. μ 1033 La. μετάνιπτρον ἢ μετανιπτρίς; Poll. VI 100; Call.Com. fr. 9 K.–A.; Antiph. fr. 147 K.–A.; Nicostr.Com. fr. 3 K.–A. (cf. fr. 18; 19); Philetaer. fr. 1 K.–A.; Philox.Leuc. *PMG* 836c. Pl. *La.* 183B4f οὐδὲ ἄκρω ποδὶ ἐπιβαίνειν; Austin on Cic. *Cael.* 28. Pfeiffer on 20. The misprint in 21 is corrected at Pfeiffer II 125. For ὕ in ὕγινης, see Pfeiffer's apparatus; West (1982) 18; Herod. 4,20; cf. Headlam on Herod. 3,7. V. Schmidt accepts choriambic anacalasis (100f; 103); but see above, Ch. 1 n. 52, and Ch. 2 n. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Pfeiffer on 24.

The end of the critic's speech is marked by an *Abschlußformel* in 23.<sup>49</sup> If this is the correct interpretation of the line, it provides an important clue to the form of the poem: it proves the presence of a framing narrative. This is 'reported dialogue' (like fr. 1). The narrator is in control: he prompts, guides, directs reactions; and passes judgement.

Plato's dialogues offer instructive comparisons. Contrast the handling of the form in *Gorgias* and *Phaedo*. The *Gorgias* is a dramatic dialogue. It ends with Socrates' unglossed appeal. You must decide for yourself; there is nobody to help you. The *Phaedo* is a reported dialogue. At crucial moments, the frame of narrator and listeners breaks in upon the reported action, and the reader's reactions are guided by theirs. In Plato's hands, this form proves a superb instrument for the fostering of emotion.

*Iambus* IV is interestingly different. Callimachus presents himself as the speaker of the poem, but without setting up any commenting frame. This creates a sense of detachment and irony. In *Iambus* IV, we are the immediate and independent observers of a speaker whom we can judge for ourselves. In XIII, as in fr. 1, the speaker is addressing us, presenting a case to us, trying to influence us.

The poet is not only in control of the narrative; he is also, in sharp contrast to his adversary, in perfect control of himself. The tone of his reply is calm, with just a hint of condescension in the address ὦ λῶστε (24).<sup>50</sup> If γ]άρ is correct, the speech begins with parenthesis:<sup>51</sup> in a tone of calm and judicious reasoning; and perhaps, like *Iambus* V, in a spirit of disinterested advice.

Here, ἐρῆμος is the main clue.<sup>52</sup> Pfeiffer takes it in a legal

<sup>49</sup> Above, nn. 24–6; cf. Clayman 46. I cannot verify οὕτως: 23–33 have almost entirely disappeared. A narrative frame would suggest that XIII is spoken by the poet.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. fr. 191,33; Pfeiffer; Depew (1992) 325; Dickey (1996) 281; Hughes 75. Cf. also the laurel's insults in IV: ὠφρων ἐλαίη in 18, 28, 37 [40]; and the olive's composed response: ὦ πάντα καλή in 46. See Puelma 339.

<sup>51</sup> The papyrus is faded. See Lobel's and Pfeiffer's apparatus; Denniston 68f (IV.1); 96f (postponement). What preceded γάρ? Cf. the opening lines of *Iambi* I, IV, V, X; I 32–5; IV 8.

<sup>52</sup> Articulation in the papyrus: Pfeiffer's apparatus. The accent: Chandler 122 (§ 394).

sense: “ἐρῆμος fort. in sensu iudiciali (ut ἐρ. δίκη vel γραφή vel ἄγών) cum negatione: causa non indefensa est i.e. non sine defensione velut absens me damnari patiar”.<sup>53</sup> This is possible, and there is room for a negative after ἐρῆμος. But should it not precede it?

It is, perhaps, more attractive to understand as follows: ‘my dear fellow (ὦ λῶστε), your outburst (ἡ ῥῆσις) has remained without witnesses (ἐρῆμος): listen (ἄκου-)’.<sup>54</sup> (The party would, then, have to be a small one, not a public function of the Museum.)

The tone of concern; the attempt not to embarrass someone else in public; the personal, almost intimate attitude, which is, nonetheless, firm and determined—all this would be in keeping with what emerged from the remains of *Iambus V*.<sup>55</sup> A pledge of altruistic concern would, thus, prepare the imperative in 25: ‘listen, therefore’.<sup>56</sup>

In 25–9, the papyrus is illegible, and the argument breaks off.<sup>57</sup> Some clues, however, are supplied by the end of *Iambus I*. That passage is, of course, equally dark, but the similarities look significant.

Compare the last words of 25f (πέπλ[ον, and τὰς Μούσας) with I 91f ([πέ]πλον, and μούνος εἶλε τὰς [Μο]ύσας).<sup>58</sup> Callimachus is at least alluding to the earlier passage, perhaps even quoting it. Not only is his critic, as argued above, displaying the characteristics of the scholars of the opening poem; Callimachus is also, in his reply, following the example set there by Hipponax. In I 92, Hipponax is, perhaps, ridiculing the claims of someone who thinks ‘he alone has taken (?) the Muses’. This does not look out of place in a context where Callimachus is fending off the unsolicited attentions of his self-styled *praeceptor*.

Similarly, the words ἀπεμπολῆ κόψας (27) recall I 89: κονδύλω

<sup>53</sup> Pfeiffer; LSJ III.1.

<sup>54</sup> Or ‘what I have to tell you is between you and me’?

<sup>55</sup> Differently Puelma 231: ὦ λῶστε, ἐρημός [ἐστι νοῦ γ]ὰρ ἡ ῥῆσις.

<sup>56</sup> Lobel and Pfeiffer exclude ἄκουσον. ἄκουε Gallavoti; Puelma 231; Depew (1992) 325,35. Aorist: fr. 191,1; Phoen. fr. 1,13 P.; Herm.Iamb. fr. 1,1 P. Present: fr. 194,6; 195,2. Cf. Puelma 310; above, Ch. 1 n. 52. ἀκουτέα Hughes 75.

<sup>57</sup> Puelma 231.

<sup>58</sup> Pfeiffer’s apparatus; Clayman 46. ἀπέπλ[ουν, ἀπέπλ[ευca vel sim. Hughes 75,187.

καπηλεὺς[αι].<sup>59</sup> Is this someone who 'sells his goods with his fists' a bad teacher? Or a bad critic who can only settle a matter by force (and insult)? Pfeiffer detects a notion of deceitfulness. Whatever the exact nuance, the poet is turning against the arrogance and self-righteousness of those who think they know how to 'find good songs' (28f) so that they can prescribe to others.<sup>60</sup>

For the structure of the poet's response, this would suggest that he starts off with a general section against the presumptions of those self-appointed teachers (25–9), before he addresses more particularly his adversary's 'rules' (30–3).<sup>61</sup> The beginning of the new section is, again, marked by a sign in the margin.<sup>62</sup>

The next few lines attack the notion of 'one poet, one genre'. 'Who said that', the poet asks in 30, and mentions (in the extant part of the text) elegy,<sup>63</sup> epic, and tragedy. There is, perhaps, an answer to his rhetorical question: Plato.<sup>64</sup>

For Plato, of course, this is not a matter of prescription, but of description (the distinction is important: it solves the 'inconsistency' which some have found in Plato's position). According to Plato, if poetry were a τέχνη, a poet should be able to compose all manner of poetry: for instance, tragedies as well as comedies.<sup>65</sup> In fact, however, each poet masters only one genre.<sup>66</sup> There is no poet who commands the whole realm of poetry, and this shows that poetry is not a τέχνη; instead, it is a divine gift.<sup>67</sup> This does not mean, however, that Plato prescribes 'one poet, one genre': indeed, an ἑντεχνος ποιητής should be able to do all these things.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Herod. 7,65; Hughes 75; Clayman 46; Puelma 236,1.

<sup>60</sup> 29 αἰρεῦνται? Cf., again, I 92.

<sup>61</sup> Pfeiffer on 30–4; cf. 41 ὁ τεθμὸς οὗτος.

<sup>62</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>63</sup> πεντάμετρα (31) is short for elegiac couplets: Pfeiffer compares Hermesian. fr. 7,36 P. The same use in 45. Cf. ἐλεγείον = 'pentameter': West (1974) 4,3; Boedeker–Sider, *Arethusa* 29/2, 1996, vi,6. In 30, Puelma (230) suggests: τίς εἶπεν αὖ[τε χρησμὸς] εἴ[ς γε] ῥα[ψωδοῦς].

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *Ion* 531 E–534 E, esp. B 7–C 7; above, Ch. 3 n. 64. Dawson 130; Fraser II 1049f,240. A confused account in Hughes 86–91.

<sup>65</sup> *Smp.* 223 D; cf. *Lg.* VII 816 DE.

<sup>66</sup> *R.* III 395 A.

<sup>67</sup> *Ion* 531 E–534 E; *Phdr.* 245 A. ἐκ θεῶν ἐκκληρώσω in 32 makes the Platonic background unmistakable.

<sup>68</sup> *Ion* 534 C 6f.

What Plato does prescribe, is the clear distinction of these genres themselves. But this is a new point. The different types of poetry, of harmony, and of rhythm, must not be mixed or confused. The genres should be kept separate,<sup>69</sup> and their change or development should be prevented.<sup>70</sup> Plato's position is: πολυείδεια, yes; crossing of genres, no.

In the light of Plato's writings, Callimachus is making a surprisingly and provocatively Platonic claim: his poetry is not enthusiastic (cf. 32); his *is* a τέχνη (cf. fr. 1,17); he *can* write all sorts of poetry.<sup>71</sup>

The second part of the poet's reply, after the lacuna, contains the two examples of successful πολυείδεια; the carpenter, and Ion (34-49):

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| ]..[.]..[                            |    |
| ].φει[.]δ.[                          | 35 |
| δι]φρα καὶ τράπ[εζαν                 |    |
| ]υνον ἐμβεβ[                         |    |
| ]. καὶ cὺ χωσε[                      |    |
| ]. ε κην τομηκ[                      |    |
| τὰ νῦν δὲ πολλὴν τυφεδῶνα λεςχαίνεις | 40 |
| ]ὁ τεθμὸς οὗτος[                     |    |
| ]υ[.]ν κα..ε.[                       |    |
| ]οὐχὶ μούνον ἐξ.[                    |    |

<sup>69</sup> *Lg.* III 700 A-701 B; cf. II 669 B-670 B.

<sup>70</sup> *R.* IV 424 B-425 A; *Lg.* VII 800 A ff.

<sup>71</sup> Clayman 50, and (1976) 33f; Depew (1992) 326 (but on 317: "Callimachus develops precisely what Plato feared and rejected"!); Did Callimachus compose tragedies? See *Suda* κ 227,24 Adler = T I,12 (Pfeiffer II xcv); Gow-Page on *Epigr.* 58 and 59; above, Ch. 2 n. 42. Cf. the opposition of poetry ἐκ τέχνης and ἄνευ ἐνθέου μανίας to ἡ τῶν μαινομένων ποίησις in Herm. I 12, esp. p. 98,28-30 Couvreur: τί γὰρ ὅμοιον ἢ Χοιρίλου καὶ Καλλιμάχου ποίησις πρὸς τὴν Ὀμήρου ἢ Πινδάρου; (Kassel, *RhM* 112, 1969, 100; *Suppl.Hell.* 333; not in Pfeiffer). The younger Choerilus: *Suppl.Hell.* 333-5; Hor. *Ars* 357 with Brink, and *Ep.* II 1,232-44 with Kiessling-Heinze on 232. A. S. Hollis suggests that the reference may be to the elder Choerilus (of Samos): "He had a better reputation . . . and was seemingly interested in poetic τέχνη (*Suppl.Hell.* 317,3). There was a debate about the relative merits of Choerilus and Antimachus of Colophon (*Suppl.Hell.* 328)." *Divina inspiratio* of Archilochus and Pindar: Firm. *Math.* VI 25. Callimachean water-drinking opposed to Archilochus and Homer: *AP* XI 20 (with Gow-Page on *Garl.* 190); XIII 29 (Cratin. fr. 203 K.-A.). Cf. Handel's *Serse* II 11.

ο]υς τραγωδοὺς ἀλλὰ κα[.....].ν  
 π]εντάμετρον οὐχ ᾠπαξ ἀ[νέ]κρουσε 45  
 ]σερω... φαυλα.... ουσι  
 Λυδὸν] πρὸς αὐλὸν λ..... καὶ χορδὰς  
 ]ην γὰρ ἐντελές τε τὸ χρήμα  
 ..][.]ραγεῖνον καὶ λ.... ἀνεπλάσθη

Somewhere, I suggested above, the critic must have laid down the rule 'you should do only one thing'. This is the point on which the poet's reply concentrates from line 30 onwards, and this is what the two examples are designed to reject. First comes the carpenter (34-40), second Ion (41-9).<sup>72</sup>

Where does the poet move from general argument to specific exemplification? Already in 33, it seems, if *τόδε σκέψαι* is not too far from the truth.<sup>73</sup> After this introductory formula (if that is what it is), the text breaks off. Fewer than ten lines are lost, and 34-40 look like the concluding lines of the carpenter-section. This identification is suggested by Barber's shrewd supplements in 36: *δί]φρα καὶ τράπ[εζαν*.<sup>74</sup>

The carpenter is a good choice for a comparison. Not only is the *τέκτων*-metaphor well-established in traditional poetological imagery;<sup>75</sup> what makes it particularly apposite in the present context, is the Platonic flavour of the *τέχνη*-analogy. And there is more to it than just a general Platonic air: the *τέκτων* making *κλίνας* and *τραπέζας* is the first example which Socrates uses to launch his final indictment of poetry on the opening pages of *Republic* X.<sup>76</sup> The choice of the *τέκτων* helps Callimachus to make his point against Plato.

<sup>72</sup> Dawson 131; *pace* Hughes 78.

<sup>73</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus excludes it. Lobel accepted it at *Philologus* 81, 1925-6, 249, but not at *Hermes* 69, 1934, 178. Cf. Puelma 230,2; Gallavotti suggests *τόνδε καὶ σκέψαι*, referring to Ion or the carpenter (presumably the latter). I cannot make out the traces. Ischiorrhogy: above, Introduction, n. 46; Ch. 1 n. 215. Hughes 74, 183.

<sup>74</sup> Barber, *CR* 65, 1951, 80 (Pfeiffer II 119); cf. *Dieg.* IX 37f. Ignored by Hughes 78; 91-3. *δίφρα* at Semon. fr. 7,26 W.; cf. *Dian.* 135 (with Bornmann); Gow on Theoc. 15,2; Herod. 1,37 and 77; 6,1 (with Cunningham).

<sup>75</sup> Pi. *P.* 3,113; *N.* 3,4; S. fr. 159 R. (with Jebb-Pearson); Cratin. fr. 70 K.-A.; *EGF* p. 105 F 2; Paus. X 5,8; above, Ch. 9 n. 48 on XII 9. Hughes 48, 106; 92f.

<sup>76</sup> *R.* X 595 A-598 D. Plato's homely analogies mocked in Middle Comedy: Brock (1990) 41 on Alex. fr. 1 K.-A. (*pace* Arnott?); above, Ch. 3 nn. 64-5.

38 brings the application of the simile and its consequences to the critic (if one is to understand *καὶ cὺ καὶ ὁ cέ*, the poet may have in mind more than one), and the upshot is briskly summed up in 40: 'you are talking nonsense'.<sup>77</sup>

The second example is found in 41–9: Ion.<sup>78</sup> 'That rule of yours', one could try, '(is refuted by Ion)':<sup>79</sup> ὅc] οὐχὶ μούνον ἐξά[μετρ' ἐποίησε (43),<sup>80</sup> ἀλλὰ κα[ί (44)?<sup>81</sup> 45 mentions elegy: καὶ π[εντάμετρον οὐχ ἄπαξ ἀ[νέ]κρουσε.<sup>82</sup> 46 yields little,<sup>83</sup> but 47 refers to αὐλός and lyre: the instruments associated with poetic performances at the symposium.<sup>84</sup> 48f appear to sum up and praise the excellence of Ion's wide-ranging poetic achievements.<sup>85</sup> τετράγωνος as a term of praise is found in Simonides,<sup>86</sup> but it may not be what the papyrus had.<sup>87</sup> After καί, another term of approval is required. καλός seems impossible (and would be

<sup>77</sup> Pfeiffer on τυφεδών; cf. Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* II, 132,3. On 37 and 39, see Pfeiffer's apparatus. Pfeiffer on 39: "si τὸ μῆκ[ος, cf. Schol. Flor. 9 ad fr. 1 c. adn."; cf. Barber, *CR* 65, 1951, 80: 39 κῆν τὸ μῆκ[ος ἐλλείπη. However, in XIII, the dispute is not about τὸ μῆκος τῶν ποιημάτων. The contrast with 40 suggests rather that it should be taken adverbially: '(let us hope you will) finally (learn some sense): τὰ νῦν δὲ κτλ.'? Cf. Coppola (1935) 102,1.

<sup>78</sup> *Dieg.* IX 35f; Pfeiffer; cf. Puelma 229; Hughes 78–84.

<sup>79</sup> Howald–Staiger 365; Pfeiffer's apparatus. On τεθμός: R. Schmitt 97. Puelma (229,1) compares Pi. N. 4,33; O. 7,88; P. 9,103.

<sup>80</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus, and I 506; cf. 31. No epic poetry is attested for Ion. Hughes 89f.

<sup>81</sup> The start of 44, and the construction of the acc., remain obscure. Puelma 229f (with n. 4):

ὅc γ'] οὐχὶ μόνον ἐξῆ[ς ~ – ἐνίκησεν  
πολλ]οὺς τραγωδοὺς, ἀλλὰ κα[ὶ τὸν ἥρω]ον.

He compares *Carm. Pop.* 32 P. αὐλεῖ Μαρνανδυνοῖς καλάμοις κρούων Ἰαστί.

<sup>82</sup> Gallavotti; Puelma 229; LSJ ἀνακρούω II.2 'strike up'; Gow on Theoc. 4,31. After ἄπαξ, the surface of the papyrus is stripped. For πεντάμετρον 'couplet', see above, n. 63 on 31.

<sup>83</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>84</sup> West (1992) 25f; cf. 55; 94,67; 348f. Pfeiffer's apparatus: fr. 193,36; see his note for references to these instruments in Ion's poetry. Hughes 82f.

<sup>85</sup> Puelma 233. Pfeiffer I 506: "prob. ]· ἦν γὰρ Maas, cf. fr. 191,52". Hughes 83f.

<sup>86</sup> Simon. fr. 37,3 P., on whom Aristotle may depend (*EN* 1100<sup>b</sup>21; *Rh.* 1411<sup>b</sup>26). Cf. LSJ II; Puelma 233,2; Burkert (1962) 396 (geometrical 'correctness'); Fuhrer (1992) 51.

<sup>87</sup> Pfeiffer I 506. The ink has eaten through the papyrus. To accommodate the new reading, Hughes invents τετ[ράγεινον: 83,205; cf. 42; 79; 91.

rather flat, anyway).<sup>88</sup> To sum up: Ion is here credited with epic (? 43), tragedy (44), elegy (45), and lyric (47). Callimachus is not interested in his prose works.<sup>89</sup>

To conclude, a personal and moralizing peroration (50–66):<sup>90</sup>

.]μ.[...]περημεν αἱ θεαὶ γὰρ ο[...]50  
 .]ι..ν|ηας ἡγάπησαν αἱ τα...αυτη  
 .]...ναλοιδος ἐς κέρας τεθύμωται  
 κοτέω]ν ἀοιδῶ κήμὲ δει...ταπραχ...[  
 .]δ[ύ]νηται τὴν γενὴν ἀνακρίνει  
 κα[ί] δοῦλον εἶναί φησι καὶ παλίμπρητον 55  
 καὶ τοῦ πρ.....ου τὸν βραχίονα στίζει,  
 ὥστ' οὐκ αἰκε[.....]υσιν α.λ..υσαι  
 φαύλοισι ὁμι[λ]εῖ[ν....].ν παρέπτησαν  
 καὐταὶ τρομεῦσαι μὴ κακῶς ἀκούσῃ·  
 τοῦδ' οὐνεκ' οὐδὲν πῖον, ἀ[λλὰ] λιμηρὰ 60  
 ἕκαστος ἄκροισι δακτύλοισι ἀποκνίζει,  
 ὡς τῆς ἐλαίης, ἣ ἀνέπαυσε τὴν Λητώ.  
 μῆθ.[...].....ν ἀεῖδω  
 οὔτ' Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν οὔτ' Ἴωσι συμμείξας,  
 Ἐφεσον, ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες 65  
 τὰ χῶλὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται

In 50, αἱ θεαὶ γὰρ ο[ύ] κείνους is possible (ν fills the lacuna well): 'the Muses do not (love) those (who behave like you)', or 'do not (leave) those (whom they love)'?<sup>91</sup> 52f add a scathing indict-

<sup>88</sup> Pfeiffer's apparatus.

<sup>89</sup> Ion's fragments: von Blumenthal (1939); Leurini (1992). Famous as a tragedian, ὁ τραγικός in *Dieg.* IX 36, included in Tzetzes' list of tragic poets, and the *tabula Montefalconii* (s. X; T 7a = CAT A.2.3 in *TrGF* I). Tragic fragments: *TrGF* I 19 S.–K. (there were commentaries by Aristarchus and Didymus: T 7b; cf. von Blumenthal [1939] 3f); elegy: frs. 26–32 W. (cf. Bowie [1986] 27–34, esp. 32f, and his article in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, 221–9); lyric: *PMG* 740–6 + *SLG* 316; history: *FGH* 392; philosophy: *Vorsokr.* 36 (cf. West, *ZPE* 50, 1983, 46; Luppe, *ZPE* 55, 1984, 8; Henrichs, *ZPE* 58, 1985, 1 and 7f). No epic poetry is on record; cf. 31. Dawson 131; Jacoby (1947); Huxley (1965); West (1985); Dover (1988) 1–12; Hunter (1997) 45f.

<sup>90</sup> Puelma 233–6; cf. Howald–Staiger 366f. For minor additions to the text at the start of lines 49–52, see Pfeiffer I 506.

<sup>91</sup> ἡγάπησαν (51) 'quos adamaverunt'? Cf. fr. 1,37f. The move away from scholarly pedantry towards moral concerns is reminiscent of fr. 1,29–40. Cf. Clayman 47; Hughes 85f. ε[ύ] Puelma 233.



ment of the folly of professional envy,<sup>92</sup> and again, Callimachus returns to theme and language of *Iambus* I.<sup>93</sup> He now takes the role of Hipponax himself: he has learned his lesson.

The theme of poetic feuds is elaborated in 54–9. Poets dispute each other's 'legitimacy', their 'free birth' (γενή 54).<sup>94</sup> Callimachus seems to hint at the charge of not following a proper tradition. Poets insult each other and call each other names: bastard, slave, good-for-nothing.<sup>95</sup> The reference to tattooing (used for punishment and humiliation, not for purposes of adornment) is in the same vein:<sup>96</sup> a splendid escalation of insults.<sup>97</sup>

Note also the rich and richly varied vocabulary: the high style of τετράγωνον (? 49), the legal technicality of ἀνακρίνω (54), the comic bathos of παλίμπρητος (55). No, Callimachus is not impressed by his critic's observations on λέξις. He mockingly insists on the 'injudicious' variety so ponderously corrected in 16f.

57–9 describe the consequences of these poetic quarrels (ὦς τ(ε) 57): the Muses cannot bear to associate with these

<sup>92</sup> Echoing and transforming Hes. *Op.* 25f: Pfeiffer; Reinsch-Werner (1976) 169; Hughes 95–7. Cf. Tucker (1987) 74.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. esp. fr. 191,79 (with Pfeiffer); Hughes 84f; 95. For the second half of 53, see Pfeiffer's apparatus; from here on, hardly anything can be read. Does κῆμέ (53) suggest that the speaker is the victim of the attacks described in 54–9? Cf. Hippon. fr. 37 W. with Clayman 60; above, Ch. 1, at n. 212 on I 78f; Hughes 45; 69; 94,233.

<sup>94</sup> On the legal terminology, see Pfeiffer on 54. For γενή, cf. fr. 511; Hippon. fr. 75,5 W.; Herod. 2,1 (with Headlam and Cunningham), and 32; 4,84; *AP* VII 345,7 = *Suppl.Hell.* 4,7. In the documentary papyri, ἀνακρίνω/ἀνάκρισις is the proper word for official enquiries and interrogations; in the Roman period at least, the technical term for the examination of slaves to determine their status. 54 χῶτο]υ? Parts of an upright suiting υ are visible; cf. Lobel.

<sup>95</sup> LSJ παλίμπρατος. The verb παλιμπρατεῖν in Ptolemy II's tax code of 259 BC (*PRev.Laws* 47,16); another current technicality.

<sup>96</sup> Pfeiffer; Ar. *Av.* 760 δραπέτης ἐστιγμένος, with Dunbar's note: "The forehead of a runaway slave was often tattooed." Cf. Eup. fr. 277 K.-A.; Cunningham on Herod. 5,28, and 66 (cf. Headlam on 66, and 79); Jones (1987) 150. See also Herod. 3,13. The 'tattoo elegy': *Suppl.Hell.* 970 (with commentary); Barns-Lloyd-Jones (1963). A new piece of the same papyrus, substantially increasing the text, was published by Huys (1991). Cf. Watson (1991) 92; 100; 119–21; 260–3; Bremer-Huys (1992); Slings (1993); Lloyd-Jones (1994); Cameron 384–6.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Headlam on Herod. 5,75. In 56 προπάππου Lloyd-Jones (Parsons).

dreadful people (φαύλοις ὁμι[λ]εῖν 58).<sup>98</sup> They fly past them (παρέπτησαν 58),<sup>99</sup> for fear that even they themselves might be maligned and slandered (59).

It is for this reason (τοῦδ' οὖνεκ(α) 60) that the poet's adversaries are no good as poets (60f): they do not get a decent bite, but just nibble at it, as if from the Delian palm-tree.<sup>100</sup> The way they behave as critics has frightened the Muses off.

These lines are highly allusive. In 60, the food-metaphor is ironically inverted: not this time in praise of Callimachean λεπτότης, but to ridicule his critic's paltry efforts.<sup>101</sup> As Pfeiffer observes, 61 turns the critic's words (of 21) against himself: 'I don't even come close to reason? You don't even come close to poetry!' Line 62 quotes fr. 194,84<sup>102</sup> as if to remind us of a similar quarrel, and to endorse (alongside the references to *Iambus* I) also the last poem of the opening group in scazons.<sup>103</sup>

In 63, Pfeiffer points out, the poet returns, from general concerns, again to himself and his own poetry (ἀείδω). Suddenly, the focus narrows, and it becomes clear that all the high-minded sermonizing has an Iambic sting in its tail. This is, after all, about self-defence, and it gives a certain mischievous pleasure to see Callimachus leave the moral high ground to establish his own claims and make his adversary eat his words.

64–6 lead that aggressive movement to a triumphant finish: 'Travelling to Ephesus, indeed! I, of course, never went there—and who is the incompetent poet here?' The attack culminates in a mocking quotation of the critic's own words that leaves him thoroughly compromised.<sup>104</sup> The critic's notion of true *Hipponaxnachfolge* is seen to fall short of the poet's moral

<sup>98</sup> ὥστ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἡ[μῖν οὐδ' ὄννξ]ι χρῆν ἄκρ[ο]ις φαύλοις ὁμι[λ]εῖν A. D. Knox (1923) 35. Cf. Pl. *La.* 183B4f; Austin on Cic. *Cael.* 28 (above, n. 47).

<sup>99</sup> Gnostic aorist. Cf. fr. 1,38 (Puelma 234,1). 57 ἀ(ε)κε[ Pfeiffer's apparatus; I cannot read ἀλγεῖναι; αἰ Μοῦσαι is not possible.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *Del.* 322 with Sch. and Mineur.

<sup>101</sup> Hughes 97f.

<sup>102</sup> Pfeiffer's notes; Hughes 98–101.

<sup>103</sup> Did this give Vergil the idea to refer to preceding poems at the end of *Ecl.* 5?

<sup>104</sup> Herter (1931) 427,52–7, and (1973) 220,67–221,1; Puelma 340–2; Dawson 132; Körte–Händel 106; Depew (1992) 327; Hughes 101; Hunter (1997) 43,8.

concerns and his allegiance to the Hipponax of *Iambus* I: he is aggressive only in the service of gentleness.

The sharp contrast between the two is suddenly brought home through the ringing quotation of the critic's words. This is not about following the footsteps, but the spirit of Hipponax, as the poet's move from the pedantic concerns of authenticity to the poetic question of *πολυεῖδεια* demonstrates. And the sudden return to the critic's arguments in that dismissively magisterial quotation shows them up in all their intellectual threadbareness. This would be a splendid end to the poem, and the Book.<sup>105</sup>

To sum up. What is the point, and what is the target of the critic's attack? The poet's adversary objects to faults of the *Iambi*. The poet, in his reply, widens the scope, to defend not only his whole *œuvre*, but a certain moral outlook.

This argumentative structure is familiar from the prologue to the *Aetia*, and the end of the Hymn to Apollo. On both occasions, the critic(s) are sitting ducks for the superior insight of the poet and his god. Both times, the poet not only addresses, but condescendingly redefines, the crude terms and categories imprudently employed by the other side;<sup>106</sup> both times, an external (quantitative) criterion is replaced by an internal (qualitative) one. When this has been done, the adversaries are forgotten, or kicked aside. Here, too, the critic's concern with the letter of the tradition is replaced by the poet's interest in its spirit. The critic is a figure set up to be shot down: we take against him immediately when we see him misbehaving at a symposium.<sup>107</sup>

The poet's self-portrait, I was suggesting, is perhaps less detached than in *Iambus* IV, but for most of the poem as

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Führer (1967) 56f; 61f; 77. However, *Iambus* IV continues after its punchline (103). If there was a narrative frame, was it closed (as in Theoc. 11), or left open (as in Verg. *Ecl.* 2)?

<sup>106</sup> Fr. 1,17f; *Ap.* 108–12.

<sup>107</sup> Some have tried to identify him with Herodas: cf. Herter (1937) 168, and (1973) 221,1–23; Dawson 130f, and 136f; Puelma 344–57, and *Philologus* 101, 1957, 94,2; Snell (1965) 192–4; Führer (1992) 214,807. Herzog (1923–4) 425f; A. D. Knox (1925–6); cf. *CR* 39, 1925, 13–15; Herzog (1926–7) 59–63; Bartoletti (1933); Smotrytsch (1962). Fraser is sceptical: II 105of,247; cf. Coppola (1935) 104; Dawson 136f; Clayman 70f; Hughes 49,109.

studiously well-meaning as in *Iambus* V. (This depends partly on the interpretation of 24.) His speech builds up to a moral climax, and again, this is familiar from the *Aetia* prologue. There, the Telchines are soon forgotten, the vista opens up, and at the end, there is the poet and his choice of life. Similarly, in epigram 28, narrowly poetical concerns are indicative of and subsumed under a moral point of view.

To establish his point of view, Callimachus uses writers of the past: Plato by implication, and explicitly Ion. Invoking them like this accords them the status of classics, but there seems to be less of a break than one might think. In particular, the link back to Ion helps to back up Dover's statement: "Hellenistic poetry began not with the great Alexandrians but with the deaths of Euripides and Sophokles."<sup>108</sup> Ion's πολυείδεια is, indeed, the unprecedented harbinger of a new age, but it seems to have begun earlier than most would have thought.<sup>109</sup> Not with Philitas,<sup>110</sup> or even Antimachus,<sup>111</sup> but with Ion's πολυείδεια, and the wistfulness of Choerilus of Samos?<sup>112</sup>

The most important point of reference for *Iambus* XIII, however, remains Hipponax. Not, of course, the correct and authentic Hipponax desired by the critic, but Callimachus' own Hipponax of *Iambus* I. I have tried to show how very close the links are between I and XIII:<sup>113</sup> how the critic in XIII illustrates the behaviour denounced by Hipponax in I; how his charges of madness (19–21), and the poet's indictment of professional envy (50ff) pick up Hipponax' parting words;<sup>114</sup> how connections emerge on a verbal level even where the context is lost.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Dover (1971) lxxf, at lxxi; Lloyd-Jones (1984) 55; cf. Snell (1980b); Cairns (1979) 8f; Cameron 328–31.

<sup>109</sup> Dawson 130; Hutchinson 24,52; Hunter (1997) 44f.

<sup>110</sup> Kuchenmüller (1928); his name: C. W. Müller (1990); cf. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I 464 Φιλίτας (460 Φιλητάς et sim.).

<sup>111</sup> Wyss (1936); add *Suppl.Hell.* 52–79, and perhaps 912; 953.

<sup>112</sup> *Suppl.Hell.* 317; Περσικά: 314–23; *Lysandri laudes*: 325. Nor was the commentary invented in Alexandria: for the Derveni papyrus, see West (1983) 75–115 (with pl. 5).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Puelma 234–6; Körte-Händel 106; Clayman 44; Depew (1992) 324–30; Hughes 46f; 102.

<sup>114</sup> Fr. 191,78–98; esp. 191,79 with 203,52.

<sup>115</sup> 24–9 with I 33; 89–92.

Both poems appear to be set in a gathering of scholars.<sup>116</sup> After all the ποικιλία of the collection, after the development of a new Iambic style, Callimachus has come full circle. He takes his reader back to the opening poem, and presents himself as the legitimate disciple of the Hipponax of *Iambus* I.<sup>117</sup> XIII is a fitting conclusion, but not primarily because it can be styled a 'programmatic epilogue' to the Book. It rounds it off so well, because it corresponds and responds so carefully to the opening poem.<sup>118</sup>

But is it appropriate to approach the *Iambi* as a carefully arranged 'poetry book'? And even if it is, is XIII its last poem? I shall address these questions in the Conclusion.

<sup>116</sup> At a symposium? Cf. Cameron 100. A. S. Hollis compares Hor. *Ep.* I 19,39-49.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Puelma 337-43; Hughes 46f; 73.

<sup>118</sup> Puelma 228-34, esp. 232f; Fraser I 720; 734; 745; 754; Howald-Staiger 363; Clayman 47, and (1976).

## II

# Conclusion

IN this last chapter, I shall consider Callimachus' Book of *Iambi* as a whole. I shall do so under three headings: compass, composition, and character.

First, compass. How many *Iambi* were there? In the preceding chapters, I have worked on the assumption of a book with thirteen poems. This assumption has been of little consequence for the interpretation of individual pieces. It is crucial, however, for understanding their positions in the whole, and it has already impinged on the interpretation of *Iambus* XIII. It is now time to ask: how many *Iambi*? Thirteen? Seventeen? Or something in between?

Second, composition. When the number of poems has been established, the nature of the collection can be assessed. Again, I have so far proceeded from an assumption: that this is a *Gedichtbuch*, devised, arranged, and edited by the poet himself. I shall now present the arguments for this assumption; try to elucidate the principles on which the arrangement was made; and give a survey of structure and development of the Book as a whole.

Third, and last, character. When the coherent nature of the collection has emerged, a brief synopsis will summarize the main results. I conclude with an attempt to sketch the nature and character of these poems that announce themselves as Iambic poetry in the style of Hipponax, but a Hipponax without Bupalus.

### A. Compass

The main witness for content and design of Callimachus' Book of *Iambi*, for the number and arrangement of its poems, are the *Diegeses*, illustrated in Plates 1-4. Here, the *Iambi* follow the *Aetia* (as they do in *POxy.* 1011 fol. 11<sup>v</sup>). There is no title to

mark the beginning of the *Iambi*, but a subscription marking the end of the *Aetia* (immediately preceding *Iambus* I: *Dieg.* vi a/b).<sup>1</sup> Thus, the beginning of the *Iambi* is securely established. In both texts, the first poem is the same.

Where do the *Iambi* finish? There is no subscription to mark the end of the *Iambi* in the *Diegeses*, and the relevant portion of *POxy.* 1011 does not survive (it breaks off with *Iambus* XIII on fol. vi). The next heading in the *Diegeses* is the title of the *Hecale* in col. x 18. Between these two points, the subscription to the *Aetia* (vi a/b), and the title of the *Hecale* (x 18), the *Diegeses* offer an uninterrupted sequence of seventeen poems: *Iambi* I–XIII, and the four so-called μέλη (fr. 226–9).

Prima facie, the evidence of the *Diegeses* suggests a collection of seventeen poems.<sup>2</sup> Some, however, argue for a book of thirteen *Iambi*<sup>3</sup>—mainly (but not only) because XIII would make an excellent *Schlußgedicht*. What are the arguments? First, those in favour of seventeen poems.

### 1. The evidence of the *Diegeses*

There are seventeen poems between *Aetia* and *Hecale*.<sup>4</sup> True, but not all seventeen need be *Iambi*. The *Diegeses* are not written with great care, and (as opposed to *POxy.* 1011) incipits and explicits are not marked systematically. There is a subscription after the *Aetia* (vi a/b), but no title before the *Iambi*. There is a title for the *Hecale* (x 18), but no preceding sub-

<sup>1</sup> *POxy.* 1011 fol. II<sup>v</sup> has both: 90 subscription of *Aetia*, 91 title of *Iambi*. See *POxy.* VII, pl. III.

<sup>2</sup> Cahen, *REG* 48, 1935, 316f; Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 244 (changed his view: below, n. 3); Gallavotti 9–17, esp. 12f, and (1946); *PP* 5, 1950, 92f; *PP* 8, 1953, 464f; Puelma 207f, 1; Rostagni, *RFIC* 28, 1950, 70f; Ardizzoni (1963), doxography at 257; Capovilla, *Aegyptus* 43, 1963, 359, and (1967) I 470; recently Cameron 163–73; D'Alessio 43–7, esp. 44f.

<sup>3</sup> Pfeiffer (cf. II xxxvi); (1934b) 43, and 45; Vogliano, *PMil.Vogl.*, pp. 75–9; Maas, *ibid.* 166; Körte, *APF* 13, 1939, 88f; cf. Körte–Händel 97; Dawson 4; 132f; Herter, *DLZ* 71, 1950, 493f; Muth, *AAHG* 5, 1952, 79–81; Howald–Staiger 311; Trypanis 103; Fraser I 720; 734; Clayman 3–7; Lehnus (1993) 95f. Other proposals are surveyed by Dawson 133 (cf. Clayman 5); Rostagni (1934) 293–307; cf. *Gnomon* 11, 1935, 367; Coppola (1935) 103 (includes only fr. 226 among the *Iambi*), with Lavagnini (1950) 104; 110 = (1978) 323f; 328. M. Fantuzzi has recently opted for a book of 15 poems: (1993) 56, 62; cf. D'Alessio 45, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Cameron 163.

scription. Between *Hecale* and the Hymn to Zeus, there is neither subscription nor title (xi 7/8).<sup>5</sup> Finally, a subscription to the *Iambi* is not only missing after XIII: there is also no trace of it after the *Branchus* (where, however, the break is marked by the title of the *Hecale*).

It seems, thus, quite possible that the explicit was forgotten after XIII. This may have happened with the *Hecale*, and it is precisely what happened in the case of the *Aetia*. When the scribe had reached the foot of col. v, he forgot to put in a subscription, and started with *Iambus* I at the top of col. vi.

The case of the *Iambi* looks like an exact parallel. Again, with XIII, the scribe reaches the foot of a column (ix). Again, once his column is filled, he misses out the subscription. Only here he never remedied his mistake.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. The evidence of the papyri of the *Iambi*

*PSI* 1216, *POxy.* 2171, and 2172, it has been argued, belong to the same second-century roll.<sup>7</sup> It contained the *Iambi*: there are parts of IV, V, VI, VII, and some unplaceable fragments. It also contained the *Branchus*, the last of the seventeen poems intervening between *Aetia* and *Hecale* in the *Diegeses*.<sup>8</sup> In this roll, the *Branchus* was the last poem.<sup>9</sup> These, it appears, are fragments of a roll that once contained seventeen *Iambi* in the order of the *Diegeses*.<sup>10</sup>

*PBerol.* 13417, a third-century codex,<sup>11</sup> preserves parts of 'XV' and 'XVI' (frr. 227–228) on—probably—adjacent leaves.<sup>12</sup>

The latter, if true, confirms the order of the *Diegeses*; it does

<sup>5</sup> Vogliano, *PMil.Vogl.*, pp. 72; 77; Herter (1937) 161, and (1973) 215, 31–6.

<sup>6</sup> A likely scenario, *pace* Cameron 164. No need to postulate the omission of the title *Μέλη*: the *Diegeses* never give both explicit and following incipit. (Cameron himself fails to postulate their subscription.) Nor would one have to assume accidental omission of "the other dozen or so lyric poems that would have filled out a reasonably sized book" (*ibid.*). Even if there was such a book, the *Diegeses* may have covered only a selection (below, at n. 37).

<sup>7</sup> Pfeiffer II xi (no. 7); above, Excursus, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *POxy.* 2172; fr. 229.

<sup>9</sup> *POxy.* XVIII, pl. VIII.

<sup>10</sup> Gallavotti 22f; (1946) 11; *PP* 8, 1953, 464; Cameron 169.

<sup>11</sup> Pfeiffer II xx (no. 32); Körte, *APF* 5, 1913, 545f.

<sup>12</sup> Gallavotti 24f; (1946) 11; Cameron 169.



not show that these poems were part of the *Iambi*. The former, if true, would confirm the prima-facie implications of the *Diegeses*. This is, I think, the strongest piece of evidence in favour of regarding all seventeen poems as part of the Book of *Iambi*. But how strong is it?

*PSI* 1216 and *POxy.* 2171 are pieces of the same roll: the fragments are contiguous. The fragment of the *Branchus* in *POxy.* 2172 is in the same hand, and may come from the same 'set' of Callimachus, but need not belong to the same roll.<sup>13</sup> The papyrological argument for seventeen *Iambi* is not compelling, and I believe there are other reasons for preferring a collection of thirteen.

### 3. The evidence of quotations

Ancient references to the *Iambi* usually take the form: *Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς (χωλ-)ἰάμβοις*.<sup>14</sup> Direct quotations under this title are extant for I, IV, V, VI, VIII, X, XI, and XIII—not for fr. 226–9.<sup>15</sup> Gallavotti admits that “le antiche citazioni tratte espressamente dai Giambi sono frequenti soltanto fino al numero 13”.<sup>16</sup> In fact, they are only to I–XIII.

There is one case of a quotation from the *Iambi* allegedly referring to a poem coming after XIII. After a summary of the story of Branchus, Clement of Alexandria adds: *μέμνηται τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν Ἰάμβοις*.<sup>17</sup> Some regard this as a reference to the *Branchus* (fr. 229). If true, this would establish that the *Branchus* was ἐν Ἰάμβοις.<sup>18</sup> Pfeiffer, however, refers it to fr. 194,28–31.<sup>19</sup> This is not only the simpler, but also the more

<sup>13</sup> Even if it is, it could have contained the *Iambi*, plus some stray items: below, n. 26.

<sup>14</sup> Herter (1937) 161 (cf. 159); cf. Wilamowitz (1921) 297 Anm.

<sup>15</sup> Gallavotti 9; (1946) 11. Cf. the survey at Dawson 133, and Ardizzoni (1963) 257f.

<sup>16</sup> Gallavotti 13.

<sup>17</sup> Clem. Al. *Strom.* V 8, 48,5 (II 359 St.) = Call. fr. 75 Schneider.

<sup>18</sup> Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 244 (but below, n. 19); Gallavotti 13 “una prova esplicita e diretta”; Cameron 170.

<sup>19</sup> Pfeiffer; Vogliano, *PMil.Vogl.*, pp. 76f; Herter (1937) 161, and 171; Körte, *APF* 13, 1939, 88f (convinced by Vogliano); Dawson 132f; Clayman 6. Two years before the statement quoted above (n. 18) from his edition, Gallavotti had admitted this possibility: (1946) 11,5.

likely solution:<sup>20</sup> μέμνηται suggests incidental reference (as in *Iambus* IV) rather than full treatment (as in the *Branchus*).

Similarly, fr. 217 Pf. (= 98e Schneider) has been claimed for the *Branchus*.<sup>21</sup> In this fragment from the *Etymologica*, Κεραίτης is explained as τόπος Μιλήτου. The Milesian background was enough for Gallavotti to decide that it had to derive from the *Branchus*. And because the word glossed can be accommodated in the metre of the *Branchus* only with difficulty, Gallavotti resorted to arguing that what was ascribed here to Callimachus' *Iambi* was not the word quoted, but the story told in its explanation. There is no reason to go to such lengths: the word easily fits a scazon, and may well come from *Iambus* I.<sup>22</sup>

In short, there is no quotation ascribing to Callimachus' *Iambi* anything outside I–XIII.

#### 4. The evidence of Horace's Book of *Epodes*

It has been suggested that Horace's collection of seventeen *Iambi* was modelled on Callimachus' Book of equal number.<sup>23</sup> This is a point to argue towards, not to argue from. *If* it were known that Callimachus' Book had seventeen poems, *then* it might suggest something about Horace. Since it is not, it does not. It is hardly convincing to use speculation about Horace's motives to establish the number of Callimachus' *Iambi*.

It may be worth pointing out that Horace does not use Callimachus' metres (those of frr. 226–9 appear neither in the *Odes* nor in the *Epodes*). This is hardly surprising in view of *Ep.* I 19,23–5:

... Parios ego primus iambos  
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus  
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.

Horace's way of appropriating Archilochus without Lycambes

<sup>20</sup> Pace Cameron 170.

<sup>21</sup> Gallavotti (1946) 20f; *PP* 5, 1950, 92f.

<sup>22</sup> Pfeiffer's note; I 504; II 119.

<sup>23</sup> Gallavotti 12; (1946) 11 (cf. 16); *PP* 8, 1953, 465; Capovilla, *Aegyptus* 43, 1963, 359; Klingner (1964) 433f (with Herter's doubts: [1973] 215,49–54; cf. 64–8); Clayman 54; Newman (1990) 47f; Cameron 169f.

owes much to Callimachus' Hipponax without Bupalus,<sup>24</sup> but he does not offer a Roman Callimachus: he does not echo Callimachus' book-arrangement; other points of contact are slight, and probably due to a common source (such as Archilochus, or Hipponax).<sup>25</sup>

It is possible that Horace, in his revival of an archaic Iambicist, alluded to the frame of Callimachus' enterprise. It is possible—no more.<sup>26</sup>

So far, no conclusive evidence for a Book of seventeen *Iambi*. Neither the *Diegeses*, nor the papyri, nor the quotations, nor Horace's *Epodes*, provide a compelling argument against a collection of thirteen poems.

Before I move on to the arguments in favour of thirteen *Iambi*, a brief glance at the group of fr. 226–9 may be useful.<sup>27</sup> What can be gleaned from the attestation of the μέλη themselves? Are they better taken with the *Iambi*, or on their own? The following arguments are brought forward against separating fr. 226–9 from the *Iambi*:<sup>28</sup>

(i) The testimony of the *Suda* attributing μέλη to Callimachus<sup>29</sup> is claimed to be suspect.<sup>30</sup> However, the fact that there are some mistakes in the list does not prove that everything (or that this particular statement) is wrong.<sup>31</sup> Even if it

<sup>24</sup> Cf. fr. 191,3f; above, Ch. 1 n. 144; Dawson 11; Newman 47f; Cavarzere (1992) 22.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Mankin on Hor. *Epod.* 15,7–9, and 20. Contrast the echoes in the *Satires*: Freudenburg (1993) 104–8, esp. 104f. On the *Epodes*, cf. E. A. Schmidt (1977); (1990) 131–70; (1993) 454–67.

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps, four poems were later added to copies of Callimachus' thirteen *Iambi* "to fill out the book": Clayman 7; Cavarzere (1992) 24f; *pace* Cameron 170. Cf. the three unclassifiable poems (9–11) at the end of Pi. N.: Irigoin (1952) 42; cf. 33; 40.

<sup>27</sup> For literature, see Lehnus 138–40. Körte, *APF* 5, 1913, 545f, and 11, 1935, 242–5; cf. Körte-Händel 107–9; Herter (1931) 423,26–425,46; (1937) 161, and 169–71; (1973) 213,63–215,7; Cahen (1929) 242–4, and *REG* 48, 1935, 317f; Gallavotti 12f; 66–73; Howald-Staiger 369–80; Trypanis 157–74, esp. 159; Fraser II 1032,151; Clayman 52; D'Alessio 656–73. Wilamowitz (1921) 127; (1924) I 196 (cf. II 295); Maas (1962) 11f (§ 15); West (1982) 151f; Fuhrer (1992) 23,54; 205,768.

<sup>28</sup> Cameron 163f; cf. 148.

<sup>29</sup> *Suda* κ 227,25 Adler = T 1,12 (Pfeiffer II xcv).

<sup>30</sup> Gallavotti (1946) 11; Cameron 163 with n. 107.

<sup>31</sup> Vogliano, *PMil.Vogl.*, p. 76; Maas, *ibid.* 166,4.

were, that would only mean that frr. 226–9 could not be labelled μέλη, not that they were part of the *Iambi*.

(ii) A book of Callimachus' μέλη is never quoted.<sup>32</sup> But this does not prove that there were no μέλη. It may just show that they were not studied much;<sup>33</sup> or, more likely, that they were never gathered into a book, that they circulated separately.<sup>34</sup>

This will also take care of the last two objections:

(iii) The four μέλη are not marked off in the *Diegeses*.<sup>35</sup>

(iv) They are not enough for a book.<sup>36</sup>

What if, as Pfeiffer argued, there never was a book of Callimachus' Μέλη? What if they circulated individually? (These four will not have been all, anyway.<sup>37</sup>) In this case, it becomes clear why they are not marked off in the *Diegeses*. They are treated exactly like the Hymns: as individual compositions that had not been gathered in a book by the poet.<sup>38</sup> They are identified only by incipit, without a title or subscription for the group as a whole. No mark between *Iambi* and μέλη, as there is none between the *Hecale* and the Hymns.<sup>39</sup> Both cases turn out to be strictly analogous. In both cases, it is assumed that the *Einzelgedichte* will not be mistaken.

The μέλη, too, provide no basis for the case against thirteen *Iambi*. What are the arguments in favour? Various observations have been advanced to support a book of thirteen *Iambi*, and to show that frr. 226–9 cannot be part of it:<sup>40</sup>

(i) These four μέλη are never quoted as part of the *Iambi*,<sup>41</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 244; Gallavotti 12, and (1946) 11; Cameron 163.

<sup>33</sup> Vogliano, *PMil.Vogl.*, pp. 75f, following Wilamowitz.

<sup>34</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 43.

<sup>35</sup> Cameron 163; above, at n. 4.

<sup>36</sup> Cameron 164. Cf. Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 244 with n. 3, and 13, 1939, 88f; Gallavotti 12, and (1946) 11.

<sup>37</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 43; Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, p. 168; Herter (1937) 94f; 171; (1973) 213,63–214,19. *Pace* Gallavotti 13.

<sup>38</sup> Did Callimachus arrange a Book of Hymns? Herter (1931) 436; (1937) 193f; (1973) 229; C. W. Müller (1987) 46f; Hopkinson on *Cer.*, p. 13; Hutchinson 63; Cameron 255; 438. Cf. *A&A* 34, 1988, 125, and *AAHG* 43, 1990, 163.

<sup>39</sup> Above, at n. 5.

<sup>40</sup> All marshalled by Clayman 53.

<sup>41</sup> Above, at n. 15.

but under separate and individual titles.<sup>42</sup> Against this, it has been urged that similar titles could easily be devised, and sometimes appear to be presupposed by the phrasing of the *Diegeses*, for individual *Iambi*.<sup>43</sup>

It is irrelevant whether or not similar titles could be given to the *Iambi*. The fact remains that the *Iambi* are referred to under the collective title of the Book, whereas the μέλη are identified by individual titles.<sup>44</sup> They are not part of the collection.

(ii) It has been said that the metres of frr. 226–9 do not suit the *Iambi*.<sup>45</sup> Admittedly, in view of the metrical variety and inventiveness of I–XIII, it does seem difficult to rule out these forms.<sup>46</sup> They are all stichic, and one can even be interpreted as an epode (fr. 227).

But then, why should Callimachus not have written the odd epode apart from his Iambic collection? And when all is said and done, the fact remains that two of the three stichic μέλη use Aeolic lines (frr. 226 and 228), and one is choriambic (fr. 229). Not impossible, perhaps, but even after the metrical extravaganzas of XI and XII: decidedly different.

(iii) Then, there is subject-matter. Some regard the topics of the μέλη as un-Iambic.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, Gallavotti puts quite a plausible case for the Iambic character of fr. 226.<sup>48</sup> Still, I find it difficult to imagine fr. 228 in an Iambic collection—but in view of VIII, it seems prudent to reserve judgement.

(iv) Finally, there is *Iambus* XIII. It looks like the poet's final word: a fitting conclusion to the Book.<sup>49</sup> Even more important than the programmatic character are the pervasive connections with *Iambus* I: metre, theme, and detail of the poem look back to the start.<sup>50</sup> We have come full circle.

<sup>42</sup> Pfeiffer (1934b) 43.

<sup>43</sup> Gallavotti 9f, and 13; (1946) 13; Ardizzoni (1963) 258; Cameron 164.

<sup>44</sup> Pfeiffer on frr. 227,5–7; 229,1. For frr. 226 and 228, no quotations exist, but the extension is easily made.

<sup>45</sup> Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, p.166; Dawson 132f.

<sup>46</sup> Gallavotti 13; 15f; (1946) 12; Deubner (1953) 290,2; Ardizzoni (1963), esp. 258–60; Herter (1973) 215,36–48; Cameron 164–7; 438. Cf. Dawson 116; 143; Masson, *REG* 59–60, 1946–7, 25–7, and p. 34 in his edition of Hipponax; Dover (1964) 186f; West (1974) 22; Nagy (1976) 191.

<sup>47</sup> Clayman 52–4.

<sup>48</sup> Gallavotti 12f. Cf. Cameron 164, and 167–9, on 'thematic links' (not always convincing). <sup>49</sup> Cf. Cameron 164. <sup>50</sup> Cf. Gallavotti 15.

*Iambus* XIII, it seems to me, clinches the matter. Next to it, there are, perhaps, three observations that deserve to be repeated:

- (i) Only I–XIII are quoted as *Iambi*.
- (ii) The μέλη are metrically distinct.
- (iii) The resulting “mess between *Iambi* and *Hecale*” in the *Diegeses*<sup>51</sup> is strictly in accordance with their practice elsewhere: individual poems (like the Hymns) are identified by first line only.

All the other arguments are incidental and inconclusive. Not even the papyrological evidence is compelling. *Hundert graue Pferde machen nicht einen einzigen Schimmel*. Arguments are to be weighed, not counted. On balance, a book of thirteen poems has, I think, much the stronger case.

But can I rely on the character of XIII? I am saying that I do not expect the Book to continue after XIII. It can, of course, be argued that the surprise of an unexpected continuation is the whole point of the exercise. Cameron argues that the defence of πολυείδεια in XIII precedes ‘XIV–XVII’ “as though a warning of worse to come”.<sup>52</sup> The argument was put most eloquently by Gallavotti:<sup>53</sup>

Con esso il poeta rivendica a se stesso la libertà di uscire dagli schemi tradizionali e canonici, che imponevano ai poeti e ai loro libri tipi e forme determinati, dialetti e metri stabiliti.

The last four poems break free, while at the same time, in their metrical variety, they balance the metrical traditionalism of the opening four poems in scazons.<sup>54</sup>

It would be churlish to insist that this is not an instance of πολυείδεια in the sense of *Iambus* XIII (variety of genres), because it is to do with the closely related question of generic purity that is also discussed (and, if you take Gallavotti’s line, heralded) in XIII.

What I am worried about, however, is the argument *ex improviso*. Most astonishing theories are put forward about

<sup>51</sup> Cameron 164.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 167.

<sup>53</sup> Gallavotti 15; cf. (1946) 12.

<sup>54</sup> Gallavotti 15; cf. Puelma 336f.

Callimachus, most incredible surprises are ascribed to him, because he is 'the poet of the unexpected'. Not that this is not true—but it should inspire caution, not flights of fancy. The surprising must not be confused with the inconceivable. When does the singular become anomalous? When the unprecedented unlikely or impossible? There is no hiding behind the *carte blanche* of the poet's versatility. We must judge.

I see two reasons against regarding XIII as a false ending: (i) Callimachus' surprises are not as loud, garish, and obtrusive—but that is a judgement of taste. (ii) To read XIII as a false ending, amounts to assuming that Callimachus plays upon and subverts recognized convention:<sup>55</sup> the reader must recognize the 'conclusion' for the surprise to work. Is this plausible in what may be one of the earliest examples of a collection designed by its author?

Questions of composition are coming into view, but before I can move on to the next section, more needs to be said about Cameron's treatment of XIII.

Cameron argues for a book of seventeen *Iambi*.<sup>56</sup> When it comes to dealing with XIII, he first offers some scathing remarks on the study of poetry books:<sup>57</sup>

Over the past decade or two a disproportionate amount of research has been invested in the analysis of Greek and Roman poetry books, revealing complex principles of arrangement held to add immeasurably to the significance of individual poems.

This sets the tone for discussing I and XIII:<sup>58</sup>

One of the main reasons for closing the *Iambi* with 13 has always been the assumed appropriateness of this poem for that function. The book would then both begin and close with answers to critics, 1 implicit and 13 explicit. It seemed inevitable that 13 was a closing epilogue balancing the *Aetia* prologue.

It is, perhaps, fanciful that the end of the *Iambi* should balance the start of the *Aetia*. I shall concentrate on the link between I

<sup>55</sup> Programmatic epilogues: Hor. *S.* I 10; Prop. II 34; Dawson 141f.

<sup>56</sup> Cameron 163–73; cf. 81f; 127, 114; 140; 163; and on the *Pannychis*: 92; 94f; 99.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 172f, at 172.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 172f.

and XIII. Cameron sees a connection in what he calls their “programmatic” nature.<sup>59</sup> In his eyes, this argues against regarding XIII as the last poem, because it would be “superfluous to give it this additional emphasis, better reserved for something less obvious”.<sup>60</sup> An arbitrary claim. Besides, more important than the ‘programmatic character’ that I and XIII have in common, are their pervasive structural and linguistic correspondences.

The resulting arrangement is defended by Cameron in these terms:<sup>61</sup>

Nor does the book lose all structure if we include 14–17. Quite the contrary. [?] While 1 has one sort of link with 13 (iambic poetry) it has an entirely different sort of link with 17: Apollo of Didyma. Indeed, in one capacity or another Apollo ties together a number of other poems too.

Again, this remains a claim. How the figure of Apollo does this, is never demonstrated or argued.

These are the results of an unholy alliance between positivism and New Criticism: of listing evidence without weighing it; of confusing themes with motifs. Cameron collects isolated instances, and claims a connection without looking for the connecting thought or argument.

Note that Apollo is said to “tie together” these poems “in one capacity or another”—well, how exactly? Why should he be seen as the focus of I–XVII? Once the manifest ‘example’ has been spotted, no further effort of interpretation is needed. As far as the ridiculed study of poetry books is concerned, this is among the least illuminating kinds of analysis they can get: in its neglect of thought and argument just one step short of numerology.<sup>62</sup>

Cameron’s discussion is replete with this type of operation: “1 and 17 share a *preoccupation* with the oracle and temple of Apollo at Didyma”;<sup>63</sup> “. . . how neatly (if unexpectedly) the book *was tied together* by Didyma”.<sup>64</sup> Nor is this all: Cameron

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 173.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Nisbet, *JRS* 69, 1979, 231.

<sup>63</sup> Cameron 167. Emphases here and afterwards are mine.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 168; *ibid.* on IV; cf. 254. The notion is inspired by Puelma 309.



finds it significant that, after the laurel in IV, "a prophetic laurel also *makes an appearance* in *Iamb* 5 (F 195.32), and according to the Diegesis, an oracle of Apollo *played a major part* in 7 too (F 197)".<sup>65</sup> He is not at all perturbed by the incidental character of the passages which he collects.<sup>66</sup>

Since [!] most of these allusions in the *Iambi* are subsidiary to the main concerns of the various poems, it is natural to infer that they are an incidental result of recent research on Apollo and his oracles.

How, then, can these 'links' be thematically significant? These are claims amounting to meaningless patterns. Nowhere are they supported by exegetical argument. Never is the question asked: 'and what does that mean?'

It will have become clear that and why my view of this Book of *Iambi* is different. Consideration of its compass has already turned to questions of composition; but what I hope to have established in this section, is the case for a book of thirteen poems. I shall now proceed on this assumption, to look at the arrangement of these poems.

## B. Composition

The notion of a *Gedichtbuch*, a book of poems, devised, arranged, and edited by the poet himself, is widely accepted by students of Augustan literature.<sup>67</sup> The *Iambi*, too, show a deliberate arrangement best attributed to Callimachus himself.<sup>68</sup>

Calderini (1921) thought the book was unified by Apollo, and its speaker Hipponax (the latter first argued by von Arnim [1910] 10–26).

<sup>65</sup> Cameron 168; cf. also 171f, and 169 on Apollo and the Muses in 12, 13, 15, 16.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. 168.

<sup>67</sup> W. Kroll (1924) 225–46. For bibliography, see Cameron 172, 55. Cf. *A&A* 34, 1988, 124–43, esp. 125f; 127, 10; 140, 35; Gutzwiller (1998) 9, 31. A comprehensive study will be published by N. Krevans: *The Poet as Editor. Callimachus, Vergil, Horace, Propertius and the Development of the Poetic Book* (diss. Princeton 1984; *non vidi*; no mention of the *Iambi* in Dissertation Abstracts).

<sup>68</sup> Herter (1937) 160f; (1973) 215, 8–11; 216, 12–34; Puelma 309; 322f; 335–7, esp. 336f; Dawson 5; 140–6, esp. the diagram p. 143; Ludwig, *Poetica* 2, 1968, 323; Wiseman (1969) 2f; E. A. Schmidt, *Philologus* 117, 1973, 238f; Clayman 48f; Cavarzere (1992) 23–5; Fantuzzi (1993) 50; Pöhlmann (1994) 14;

If true, this would make the *Iambi* one of the earliest extant examples of a *Gedichtbuch*.<sup>69</sup>

Callimachean editorship (if not primacy) is widely held.<sup>70</sup> It has rightly been pointed out that it is implied by *Iambus* XIII;<sup>71</sup> the echoes of I, and the critic's attack on the present collection, show that XIII was written as a conclusion to this book.

If it is accepted that the arrangement is Callimachus' own work, another question arises. Did the poet, at a later stage, gather together independent compositions originally conceived without an idea of their eventual context?<sup>72</sup> Or did he write these poems in one effort with the collection in mind? Did Callimachus write for the Book? Did he discover it as a new form of poetic composition?

I shall try to arrive at an answer to these questions, and to support the general assumption that the *Iambi* are a *Gedichtbuch*, in two steps: first, I shall look at the internal evidence (the principles of arrangement as evident in the collection); second, I shall ask whether there are external reasons to believe that Hellenistic poets composed books.

Principles of arrangement: first, metre.<sup>73</sup> The book falls into

Cameron 103, 186; 172f. For the length of the collection, cf. Gallavotti 20–5; (1946) 16–19.

<sup>69</sup> Dawson 143f; Ludwig (n. 68); Gutzwiller (1996a) 119, and (1998) 19; Hunter (1997) 41. Together with the *Aetia* (and the Hymns? above, n. 38). The *Δέλτοισι* of Antimachus: Cameron 87f. Theocritus: Stanzel (1994–5); Gutzwiller (1996a), (1996b), and (1998) 18; cf. Gow I lxvi–ix; Dover (1971) xviif; Parsons, *POxy.* L, p. 100; Hutchinson 144, 2. Epigram books: Cameron (1993); Gutzwiller (1998), esp. ix f; xi; 5; 7–14; 15–46; 50–3.

<sup>70</sup> Herter (as in n. 68); Gallavotti 10–12; 14f; (1946) 13; Dawson 5; 144–6; Ludwig (n. 68); Fraser I 735.

<sup>71</sup> Gallavotti 11; Howald–Staiger 311f; cf. Ludwig (n. 68).

<sup>72</sup> There is no way of dating the *Iambi*: Herter (1937) 161f, and (1973) 216, 3–12; Gallavotti 10f, and 11f; Dawson 146–9, esp. 148f; Howald–Staiger 312; Wimmel (1960) 123, 3; Fraser I 719f; 734; 791; cf. Capovilla (1962) 40 (I); 43f (VI); 57f (XIII); 94f (date). All that can be said is that the self-quotations in IV and XIII presuppose the *Hecale* and the Hymn to Delos (or, of course, a common source). Cameron's date (160–2; cf. 163; 171; 248; 262; 358f; 437) depends on making fr. 112 the epilogue to *Aetia* I–II, dating it before the death of Arsinoe, and having it announce the *Iambi* (below, following n. 81).

<sup>73</sup> Gallavotti 14–17, esp. 14f (excellent!); (1946) 16; Bühler (1964) 227f. Cf. Pfeiffer (1934b) 40–5; Körte, *APF* 11, 1935, 244f; Maas, *PMil.Vogl.*, pp. 166–8; Dawson 142f; Ludwig (n. 68); Fraser I 734f; D'Alessio 44.

three parts: stichic scazons (I–IV), epodes (V–VII, or VIII), and stichic metres again (VIII or IX–XIII). There is some uncertainty about VIII–XI. It is fairly certain that IX–XI were stichic, but VIII could be stichic or epodic.<sup>74</sup> I shall here follow Gallavotti in assuming that VIII was composed in stichic trimeters.

If so, four poems in scazons are followed by three epodes. The first of these epodic poems, V, is transitional: as a scazonic epode, it looks both ways. After the epodes, six stichic compositions, falling into two groups of three: VIII–X in iambic trimeters (following on from the epodes based on trimeters in VI and VII); and three stichic poems in different metres at the end of the book (XI–XIII). Of these three, the first two employ more exotic forms, before the return to the scazon in the last poem.

This gives roughly the following pattern:

I II III IV — V VI VII — VIII IX X — XI XII XIII.

Let us check this metrical scheme against the evidence of the dialects used.<sup>75</sup> The opening group (I–IV) is in Ionic throughout, and this is also the dialect of V (confirming its transitional character). The two trimetric epodes are the first poems to move beyond the traditional Ionic: VI is Doric, VII ‘Cyrenaic’ (?).<sup>76</sup> The stichic poems alternate (VIII Ionic, IX Doric, X Ionic, XI Doric); XII and XIII (both in Ionic) are marked off as a concluding pair, balancing the group of Ionic poems at the beginning.

The upshot so far: the groups established by the metrical pattern also make sense for the distribution of dialects. The transitional character of V is confirmed, and the thematic closeness of XII and XIII is emphasized.

I move on from elements of form to content, topics, themes.<sup>77</sup> I–IV are close to the critical spirit of the old Iambus (II and IV use *αἶνοι* to make their points; two long poems frame two short ones). Again, V looks back to the preceding poems: it is critical

<sup>74</sup> Above, Ch. 8 n. 5. Cf. Gallavotti 14; 16; (1946) 13–16; *PP* 4, 1949, 288 (VIII–X stichic trimeters); Muth, *AAHG* 5, 1952, 80: I–IV stichic/V–IX epodic/X–XIII stichic (probably wrong for IX).

<sup>75</sup> Gallavotti 19f; Dawson 143; Bühler (1964) 229.

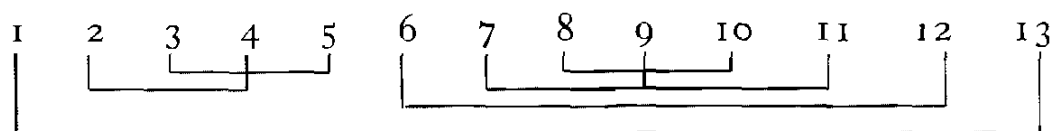
<sup>76</sup> Above, Ch. 10 n. 45 on XIII 18.

<sup>77</sup> Gallavotti 19; Clayman 48f.

(like I–IV), and erotic (like III); the metrical divide is bridged by dialect and theme. VI is the first of the poems on divine statues (VI–VII, IX–X); VII is the first of the poems on αἵτια (VII–XI).

At the moment, the three epodes look a disparate group: V looking back, while VI and VII each introduce new topics. I shall ask later how this group works. At present, one may observe that VI and VII, in the same metre, break new ground in dialect and subject-matter.

The second half of the book is arranged in balancing brackets. XIII picks up I. The γενεθλιακόν XII looks back to the προπεμπτικόν VI: both are poems addressing friends. VII, IX, XI introduce speaking monuments (two statues of Hermes, and a tombstone). VIII (the statue of a victor?) and X may have concentrated on heroic myth. At the end of the collection, ποικιλία wins. (Not chaos.) XI, XII, and XIII are all in different metres; and while, in its exotic metre, XII looks back to XI, in its topic (poetry), it goes with XIII. (Note the stark thematic contrast between the tombstone in XI and the γενέθλια in XII.) It may be worth drawing a diagram:<sup>78</sup>



It is somewhat mechanical, I agree, but it helps us to see and ask an important question. It is not yet clear how the three epodes (V–VII) go together. What is one to make of the striking thematic break after V?

This, however, is a question for the last part of this chapter: there, I shall have to interpret the schematic observations offered here. What I hope to have established by making these observations, is that the *Iambi* do, indeed, bear the marks of deliberate arrangement. And external considerations will encourage us to ascribe this arrangement to Callimachus himself.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Clayman 49.

Poetry books are common practice among Augustan poets. Callimachus' *Iambi* provide an earlier example. What is their origin? Alexandrian scholarship offers a plausible background for their invention, Alexandrian ποιηταὶ ἄμα καὶ κριτικοί are likely candidates for the first practitioners. The *Iambi* give us an Alexandrian book, and the *Aetia* show deliberate arrangement on an even larger scale.

This may be the point to say something about the epilogue to the *Aetia*. The poet's farewell in fr. 112,9 (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν [ἐ]πειμὶ νομόν) seems to make reference to the *Iambi*.<sup>79</sup> An editorial statement,<sup>80</sup> or "a promise of a poem not yet published, a statement of literary intent"?<sup>81</sup>

The latter, Knox thinks, and raises a chronological problem: the *Iambi* after the second edition of the *Aetia*? He suggests that fr. 112 (with its reference to the *Iambi*) belongs to the first edition of *Aetia* I–II. For the second edition, Callimachus moved it from the end of II to IV.<sup>82</sup>

Cameron accepts that there is a chronological difficulty, and wonders whether fr. 112 could be an elegiac prologue to the *Iambi*.<sup>83</sup> In the end, he opts for a version of Knox's theory: fr. 112 is the original epilogue of the first edition, moved to IV, not by Callimachus, but a later editor. The *Diegeses* do not mention it before the *Iambi*: they presuppose a copy with the epilogue in its original position.<sup>84</sup>

Let me take the arguments in reverse order. The absence of the epilogue from the *Diegeses* is not surprising. As the *Iambi* have shown, this is a careless compilation, interested only in the

<sup>79</sup> Pfeiffer; Lehnus (1993) 78, and 95; D'Alessio 542f,69; Cameron 143–5; *pace* Wilamowitz (1913) 299,1. Cf. *Musa pedestris* at Hor. *S.* II 6,17 (with Muecke); *Ep.* II 1,151, and *Ars* 28/95 (227–30) with Brink; Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* II 12,9. *Pace* Pfeiffer, Wilamowitz (loc. cit) may be right to prefer Hunt's πεζός. νομόν *pace* Kapsomenos, and Obbink, *Arethusa* 29, 1996, 202,22.

<sup>80</sup> Pfeiffer; D'Alessio 543,69.

<sup>81</sup> Cameron 158, following P. E. Knox (1985), and (1993). Cf. Cameron 160, and 112: the epilogue "would have stood at the end of its roll, and the allusion to the *Iambi* was not in itself explicit enough to ensure that the reader would select that roll next". First argued by Wilamowitz (1913) 299,1.

<sup>82</sup> P. E. Knox (1985).

<sup>83</sup> Cameron 154–6.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. 156–60; P. E. Knox (1993).

stories, not the poems.<sup>85</sup> The *Diegesis* of the *Hecale* does not even mention the *Vogelgespräch*.

The chronology of the *Iambi* is highly doubtful.<sup>86</sup> No firm basis from which to argue; no excuse for playing fast and loose with the one piece of evidence we have: *POxy.* 1011. It has fr. 112 at the end of *Aetia* IV, directly before the *Iambi*. Pushing it to and fro is unfounded speculation.<sup>87</sup>

There is no reason why fr. 112 has to be “a statement of literary intent”. If the reference to the *Iambi* is clear enough to announce an unpublished work, it is surely “explicit enough” to refer to a work that already exists: the roll of *Iambi* in your bucket of Callimachus.<sup>88</sup>

If so, the editorial remark suggests deliberate arrangement on a larger scale than that of the individual book, or even the individual work.<sup>89</sup> The four books of the *Aetia* are articulated as two pairs;<sup>90</sup> and as a whole, the *Aetia* are bracketed with the *Iambi*.<sup>91</sup>

If it is correct to trace the practice of deliberate arrangement back to an Alexandrian context, it becomes possible to see it as part of a larger trend. In more than one way, scholarly interests and techniques influence the composition of poetry at this time. Some examples:

(i) *Fußnotendichtung*.<sup>92</sup> The scholar’s interest in systematiz-

<sup>85</sup> D’Alessio 540,65; *pace* Cameron 154.

<sup>86</sup> Above, n. 72.

<sup>87</sup> On all this merry conjocular criticism, see the sober and judicious remarks by Massimilla on *Aet.* I–II, pp. 36–40.

<sup>88</sup> *Pace* Wilamowitz; above, n. 81. Cameron’s claim that fr. 112 announces the *Iambi* (158; 160) is at variance with his comments on its effect in a collected edition (112).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Herzog (1926–7) 60,7 (against Wilamowitz [1913] 299,1): “Es fiel mir nicht ein, . . ., dem Kallimachos eine Gesamtausgabe in Kodexform zuzumuten. Aber als Verfasser der *Πίνακες* an der Bibliothek, wo Gesamtausgaben der älteren Literatur registriert und gemacht wurden, lag es ihm nahe, auch seinen Werken in einer Ausgabe eine pinakographische Ordnung der Rollen zu geben und von einem auf das nächste zu verweisen . . .”

<sup>90</sup> Parsons (1977) 49f.

<sup>91</sup> I cannot here review alleged connections between *Aetia* and *Iambi*. Clayman (1988) has tried to interpret the latter as a parody of the former—an unconvincing attempt based on superficial ‘allusions’ and fanciful speculations. Cf. Cameron 145–54, and (1992) 307f.

<sup>92</sup> Explanatory extension or updating of existing stories: above, Ch. 9 n. 188.

ing knowledge about the past stimulates the poet's creation of midrashim: 'narrative commentaries' on the mythical past, poking into the dark corners of the classical tradition, and inventing a whole world of authenticating everyday detail not elaborated by the old masters.

(ii) Incipits. The bibliographical practice of identifying poems by their first line is attested for Callimachus' *Πίνακες*.<sup>93</sup> In his *Iambi*, I have argued, he takes special care over his first lines to make them as informative as possible. The opening line of *Iambus* IV, for instance, encapsulates all elements of its complicated setting.<sup>94</sup>

(iii) Similarly, the editorial practice of arranging poems in books could have sparked off the idea of using the book as a form of poetic composition.<sup>95</sup> Is there anything to support this notion?

There is no doubt that Callimachus was engaged in devising criteria of arrangement for practical, editorial purposes. Although no editions are attributed to him,<sup>96</sup> the editorial work of Aristophanes of Byzantium will have been based on the *Πίνακες*, with and on which he worked.<sup>97</sup>

Callimachus is also known to have arranged the epinicians of Simonides according to types of contest, those of Pindar according to places of contest.<sup>98</sup> These criteria are external, and vary from author to author.<sup>99</sup> As their arbitrariness shows, their purpose is practical: to arrange the existing corpus of poems in books of roughly equal length.

Beyond these mundane concerns, Callimachus was interested in more serious questions of literary genre. The fragment of a commentary on Bacchylides preserves traces of a scholarly debate over the question whether a poem was a paean or a

<sup>93</sup> Pfeiffer (1968) 129; frs. 436, 443, 444, 449. Cf. West (1997) 27.

<sup>94</sup> Above, Ch. 4, at n. 1.

<sup>95</sup> F. Skutsch (1901) 53: below, n. 110; Herzog (1926–7) 60,7: above, n. 89. Cf. Gutzwiller (1998) 11.

<sup>96</sup> Pfeiffer (1968) 138.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. 133; 178; 181; 257; Ar.Byz. fr. 368–9 Slater.

<sup>98</sup> Irigoin (1952) 33 on Call. fr. 450; Pfeiffer (1968) 130; 183; cf. Ludwig (n. 68).

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Ludwig (n. 68). For Sappho, metre appears to have been the main (but not exclusive) criterion: Lobel (1925) xiii–xvi.

dithyramb.<sup>100</sup> Callimachus had included it among the paeans; Aristarchus thought it was a dithyramb.

For Callimachus, this is more than a mere question of practicality: he did develop criteria to determine the genre.<sup>101</sup> Aristarchus knew his reason (the presence of the epiphthegma ἰή), and could challenge it. Callimachus must have stated the case, and may have discussed the problem.

Nor need one stop here. It is clear that Callimachus was alive to character and characteristics of traditional genres in his own poetical practice.<sup>102</sup> The *Iambi* are a good example of this: the old invective is refashioned, and this change is made explicit by Hipponax himself at the start of the Book.<sup>103</sup>

Similar awareness has been found in Callimachus' epinician poetry,<sup>104</sup> and he shows the same sensitivity and tactful observation of generic properties in his Hymns, too. Never are they directly addressed to mortal kings. This restraint is exceptional and striking at a time when the traditional forms of religious lyric are taken over for ruler-praise.

Theocritus dedicates a veritable hymn to Ptolemy (17), and makes sure that nobody misses the point (7f). Paeans had been sung to the powerful since Lysander.<sup>105</sup> Soter received a paean from the Rhodians, Craterus from Alexinus, and a paean on Seleucus survives as an inscription.<sup>106</sup> The Athenians welcomed Demetrius Poliorcetes with an ithyphallic poem equating Demeter and Demetrius.<sup>107</sup> About a century later, the liberating deed of Titus Flamininus was celebrated in another paean.<sup>108</sup> None of this in Callimachus.

<sup>100</sup> *POxy.* XXIII 2368 = *Suppl.Hell.* 293. Pfeiffer (1968) 130; 222; Käppel-Kannicht (1988); Käppel (1992) 38–40.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Käppel (1992) 39–43.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Cameron (1992); Depew (1992); Bulloch, *TAPhA* 122, 1992, 331–4; Hunter (1997) 41.

<sup>103</sup> Below, section C. Did Callimachus use the collective term ἱαμβοί in the *Πίνακες* (West [1974] 38)? Not used in quotations of Archilochus: Pfeiffer (1933) 267; Herter (1937) 159; cf. West's lists of quotations at *IEG* I pp. 1; 7; 32; 61.

<sup>104</sup> Fuhrer (1992), and (1993).

<sup>105</sup> Duris *FGrH* 76 F 71 (cf. 26) = Pai. 35 in Käppel's collection (cf. p. 289).

<sup>106</sup> Pai. 38 K.; cf. pp. 298f T 7: Ath. XV 51f pp. 696A–697B = Hermipp.Hist. fr. 48 Wehrli; pp. 346–9 T 128–33.

<sup>107</sup> *Coll.Alex.* pp.173–5; above, Ch. 6, at n. 3.

<sup>108</sup> *Coll.Alex.* pp.173 = Pai. 43 K.; cf. *PMG* 842; *Suppl.Hell.* 492 (and 491); *A&A* 43, 1997, 140f.



The same perceptiveness is shown by the care which Callimachus takes over evoking the occasion, reproducing the traditional setting, creating the fiction of an appropriate dramatic situation for his poems in his poems.<sup>109</sup> Literary tradition does not go unnoticed. Conventions are taken seriously. Callimachus' interest in the conventional speaker of epigram, for example, shows a keen eye for the typical, and its potential for caricature.

All this to give some flesh to the notion that Callimachus was interested in questions of genre, and that his scholarly work of ordering the literature of the past will have influenced his own poetical practice. If this is acceptable, it seems likely that Callimachus did not use the book-arrangement as an afterthought, but that he wrote for it: that he used it as a form of poetic composition.<sup>110</sup>

The adaptation of this new form, and the conscious generic choice (explicitly announced in the opening lines), argue against a later collection of independent, unrelated pieces. This is an experiment in an archaic genre: consciously selected, coherently developed, and executed as one project. Callimachus is not just collecting and editing his own poems, much like those of others; he is composing with the collection in mind, with a view to the scholarly edition, for the Book.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> First observed and described for the mimetic hymns: above, Ch. 1 n. 146. Cameron 64 ascribes the observation to Depew (1993), and comments: "But I cannot for the life of me see why this is supposed to prove that he did not perform at all." Why else evoke an imaginary occasion? Understanding the aesthetic structure of these poems seems a greater achievement than insisting that someone could have stood up to read them out loud.

<sup>110</sup> A step beyond thematically bound 'catalogue poems' like the *Aetia*; Phanocles' *Ἐρωτες ἡ Καλοί*; Antimachus' *Lyde*; and, indeed, Hesiod. Cf. F. Skutsch (1901) 50–60, esp. 53 (catalogue poems inspired by pinacography); Ludwig (n. 68); Cameron 380–6; Loehr (1996).

<sup>111</sup> Adherents of a collection of seventeen *Iambi* will conclude: 'and the surprise of XIV–XVII is a parody on an editor's *addenda*'; cf. Cahen's edition, pp. 152f.

## C. Character

What is this Book of *Iambi* like?<sup>112</sup> The most extensive discussion of the character of the collection is found in Puelma's book<sup>113</sup>—an ingenious exercise in literary combination, but much of it hypothetical. His interpretations are discussed in previous chapters. In questions of detail, I often felt I had to part company. Here, I shall not discuss his conception of an Iambic *Gattungsidee*: that could only be done in a comparative investigation, taking full account, as Puelma does, of archaic, Hellenistic, and especially Latin Iambic poetry.<sup>114</sup> I shall have to concentrate on Callimachus, and to sum up my understanding of the poems discussed above.

Let us look back on the poems themselves. What is the character of this poetry? I shall try to let it emerge from one last survey of the Book. This is meant to be a step beyond the amusing, but ultimately un-understood and therefore meaningless formal patterns traced above. I shall now try to interpret them: moving away from static groups, correspondences, balances, and patterns; and asking instead, how the Book evolves, following its argument from poem to poem. A focus will be provided by the figure of the speaker, and his changing attitude.

In I, Hipponax speaks, and Callimachus is among those criticized. In II, Callimachus himself speaks for the first time,

<sup>112</sup> Howald, esp. 29f; 42–50 (IV); 78–80 (I); Gallavotti 17; Körte-Händel 106f; Howald-Staiger 25f; 311–14; Bühler (1964) 225–7; 231f; 246f; Wimmel (1960) 123–7; Clayman 51; Hutchinson 48; E. A. Schmidt (1978) 7–11, and (1990) 123–30, esp. 130. Cf. also Cahen (1929) 197–204; 333–40; (1931) 202f; 597; 604–7; (1935) 300–16; Jung (1929) 22–8; Coppola (1935) 71–106; Delage (1940) 97–101; Schneider (1969) 311f; Capovilla (1967), esp. I 64–83; 144–201; II 39–64 (with Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 40, 1968, 505f; 41, 1969, 205f); Koster (1980) 93f; Ardizzoni (1985) 277–9.

<sup>113</sup> Puelma 205–368, esp. 310–43; cf. 369–74. See Herter, *DLZ* 71, 1950, 490–6; Muth, *AAHG* 5, 1952, 76–81; Dawson, *AJPh* 75, 1954, 196–201; Fraser II 1032, 146. Similar in approach: Newman (1990) 43–74; Freudenburg (1993) 72–86 (Iambus and Old Comedy); 104–8 (Horace and Callimachus).

<sup>114</sup> The *Iambi* in Rome: Puelma; Wimmel (1960). Cf. Gallavotti 11; 14; Dawson 138–40; Deubner (1953); Herter (1973) 216, 60–217, 22; E. A. Schmidt (1978), and (1990); Clayman 72–83, and (1975); Newman (1990) 43–74; Cavarzere (1992) 21–6; Freudenburg (1993) 104–8.

although still behind the mask of Aesop's tale. Criticism pretends to be general, but suggests a number of individual targets, and turns against the speaker's addressee.

In III, for the first time, Callimachus speaks without a mask, but in a quasi-monologue: a prayer to Apollo. As in II, general moralizing is quickly found to be a thin disguise for personal concerns. Is this the promising disciple of the New Hipponax? The poet caricatures his speaker: in the poet's hands, the speaker's *Zeitkritik* turns into *Selbstkritik*.

Finally, in IV, Callimachus finds himself in direct confrontation. Our suspicions, aroused in II and III, are confirmed: he has not learned his lesson, he is still aggressive. But his aggression fails, his tale turns against him; again, the poet lets his speaker down.

I–IV form an introductory group in which Callimachus gradually builds up his Iambic persona: from the old masters in I–II, through the wistful evocation of the Golden Age in II–III, to the immediacy of the poet's own voice in III–IV. Despite Hipponax' exhortations, this is a close reworking of the traditional Iambus; and aggression is shown to fail in IV.

The response to that failure is a new beginning in V. Still close to I–IV in form, dialect, and theme, its attitude and spirit are distinctly different: V is the first poem ἐν ἡθεὶ εὐνοίᾳ. This explains the fresh start in epodic metre, despite all the connections with the opening group. Here, the Iambicist adopts a new tone; a new tone that stands out all the more clearly when compared to the Hipponactean model of this poem.

V marks a turning-point in the Book, a point of new departure followed by new topics (in new dialects) in VI and VII. The εὐνοία-poem leads on to the first friendship-poem; the Iambic speaker has mellowed; the conversion preached by Hipponax in I has been accomplished.

The poet's self-examination prepares the ground for an amused and understanding look at others, especially the gods (VII; and IX–XI), and their physical needs, pleasures, and desires (heralded by the play on the physicality of Zeus in VI). Human self-irony gives way to divine self-irony in VII.

For VIII–XI, the scanty remains make it difficult to see how exactly the Book developed. They all contained αἵτια, and all but VIII continued the theme of divine corporeality (from VI

and VII). The interest in the individuality of the speaker(s) was kept alive through ethopoeia of some weird and wonderful characters: in IX, a god with an erection ; in XI, a dead pimp.

Here, again, a pattern is discernible: VI and XII are spoken by the poet, VII and XI are *Rollengedichte*, VIII and X are probably the poet's, and IX could be either. In the first half of the Book, the poet finds his own voice; in the second half, other speakers stand alongside him.

In XII, the poet returns to the *Freundschaftsdichtung* of VI. In XIII, the new Iambicist defends his achievement of a new Iambic spirit with a repeated indictment of malice and envy. He returns to the world of I (and V), and proves himself the true disciple of Hipponax.

It is now also clear why the diagram above showed a complete thematic break after V: this is where the new Iambic tone is found; from VI on, there is no looking back.

I sum up. Callimachus' attitude to the (chol-)Iambic tradition is not that of straightforward imitation:<sup>115</sup> "indeed, that above all should be avoided".<sup>116</sup> As the opening lines of the Book make clear, his Hipponax is different. The tradition is a foil for innovation and experimentation. Callimachus moves from an aggressive form of poetry to one in which the author himself is no longer immune from criticism. "Das subjektive Bekenntnis wird, als Jambus gegen den Jambiker, zur Reflexion über die privaten Voraussetzungen jambischen Dichtens."<sup>117</sup>

Comparison with Archilochus helps to make the point. Is he not 'self-critical', too? Did not Critias blame him ὅτι κάκιστα ἑαυτὸν ἐῖπεν?<sup>118</sup> And so he does—but what Critias objects to (and goes on to list in great detail), are not examples of scrupulous self-scrutiny, but of boundless *παρρησία*, and the desire to shock.<sup>119</sup> The archaic Iambicist does not laugh at himself. He

<sup>115</sup> Esp. Bühler (1964) 236–41 on *Iambus* V.

<sup>116</sup> Pfeiffer (1955) 72.

<sup>117</sup> E. A. Schmidt (1993) 466.

<sup>118</sup> Critias 88 B 44 D.–K. = Archil. fr. 295 West; von Blumenthal (1922) 4–8; Pfeiffer (1968) 54; Rankin (1975); E. A. Schmidt (1990) 105f.

<sup>119</sup> That is what his *ρίψασπις*-poems suggest. There may be evidence for a *ρίψασπις*-*Iambus*: ZPE 111, 1996, 26 (on fr. 139 W.). But see Strunk ap. Nesselrath (1997) 151f (cf. 155).

wallows in the mud of his own iniquities to ridicule the nicety of others.

There are different ways of saying 'I'. Archilochus wields his self as a weapon, against 'you'. When Callimachus says 'I', he does not do so in protest. His *Iambi* are no outraged outcries for justice. They are not public, not concerned with the outside world of politics, nor with the 'big questions' of man and god, justice and betrayal.

Callimachus says 'I' to account for himself. His is private poetry; self-effacing, not self-enhancing; self-analytical, and wily self-critical; an individual sensibility much opposed to Archilochean indignation.

The first poem establishes this new outlook: an attitude of peacefulness, and detached humour; an atmosphere of εὐνοια, and friendship; a concern for personal morality, and manners. These are social questions, questions of demeanour; but the emphasis is squarely on the individual. Friendship is important; but the concerns of the πολίτης are absent.

In all his critical poems, the target cannot be identified. Do we lack information? Or are these characters fictional? It does not matter much. What is important, is that Callimachus tries to recapture and refine the tone of the old Iambus. His *Iambi* are studies in a particular style, and in the concomitant moral attitudes.

The focus of these experiments is his Iambic persona. Dazzling thematic variety<sup>120</sup> is held together by the interests of the individual, and the poet's interest in individuality, in judgments and views, mockery and exhortation.

Unless we are told otherwise, the speaker remains the same: 'Callimachus'. Against the foil of a reformed Hipponax, he seems to develop. This subtly orchestrated change is new to Iambic poetry. It goes hand in hand with the new interest in προκόπτειν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ. This is a poet's self-critical experiment with his own persona. A new poetic strategy, made possible by a new poetic form: the poetry book.

<sup>120</sup> Gallavotti 17–20; Herter (1973) 216, 21–59; Lehnus (1993) 97. Some Callimachean pet topics: envy in I and XIII (cf. fr. 1, 8 and 17; 2, 5); poverty in III (and V? above, Ch. 3 n. 41); αἵτια in VII–XI (cf. Dawson 138; Bühler [1964] 230). On the poet's persona, cf. Gutzwiller (1998) 11 f.

However, Callimachus is not completely absorbed in self-depiction. He is concerned with intriguing speakers of all sorts. An interest in individuality is the hallmark of his *Iambi*, most spectacularly evident in his sketches of Olympian gods.<sup>121</sup>

The gods are no longer recipients of indignant remonstrations, nor the Homeric ideals of mankind without limitations. Man is emancipated from the role of a shadowy, dreamlike reflection of their grandeur. The gods share his pettiness, and his redeeming humour amidst the compromising embarrassments attendant upon physical beings hurtling through time and space.

Of these embarrassments, Callimachus' *Iambi* offer a series of carefully crafted thumbnail sketches: wonderfully inventive in contriving amusing situations, and in bringing alive unlikely characters through nothing but their own words.

Callimachus' success in formal and thematic experimentation<sup>122</sup> is, I think, surpassed by only one other achievement: his perfect command of the old forms, in particular the epodes—pure, crisp, effortless. The author of poems like *Iambus* VI (or XII) need not fear anyone. Not even Wieland.

<sup>121</sup> Howald 72; Lehnus 332f (for literature). Cf. Legrand (1924) 46–52; Staehelin (1934)—much assertion, little exegetical argument; Falter (1934); Bulloch (1984).

<sup>122</sup> Dawson 137f.



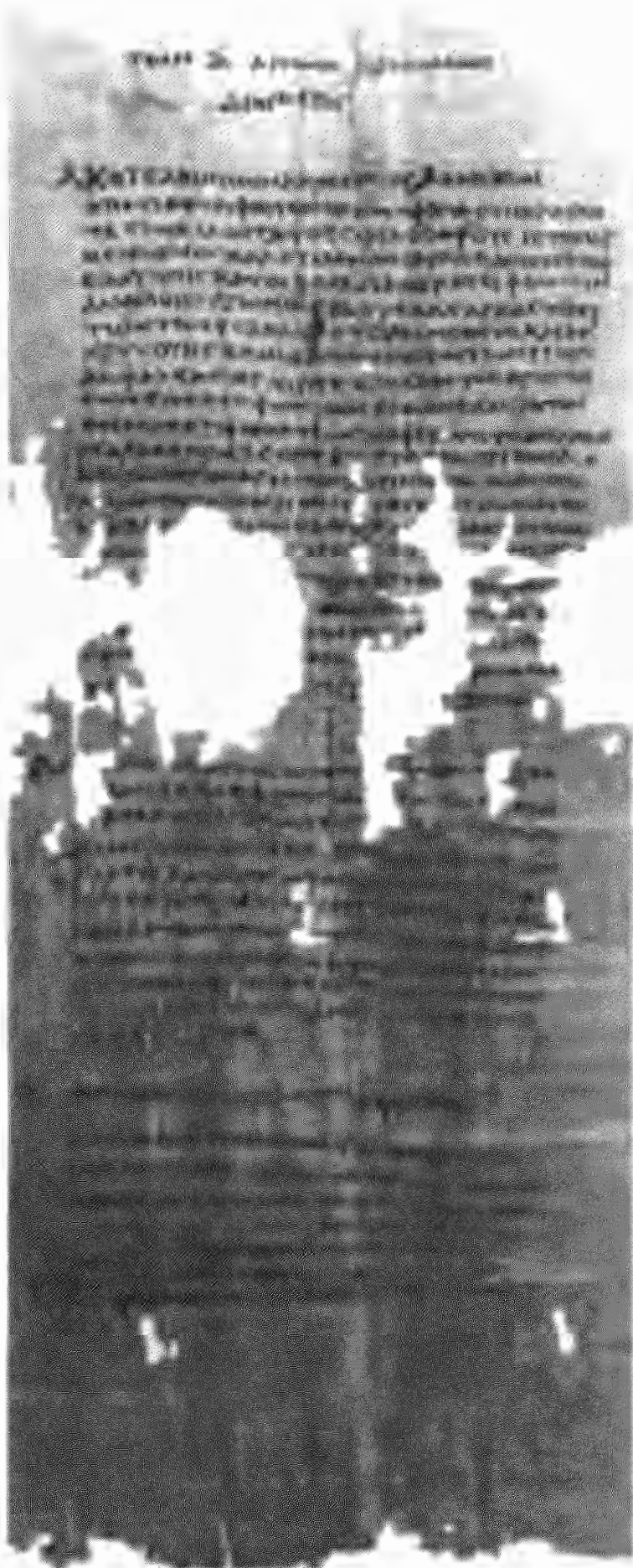


PLATE I.  
Beginning of the  
*Iambi* (Dieg. VI)





111  
 112  
 113  
 114  
 115  
 116  
 117  
 118  
 119  
 120  
 121  
 122  
 123  
 124  
 125  
 126  
 127  
 128  
 129  
 130  
 131  
 132  
 133  
 134  
 135  
 136  
 137  
 138  
 139  
 140  
 141  
 142  
 143  
 144  
 145  
 146  
 147  
 148  
 149  
 150  
 151  
 152  
 153  
 154  
 155  
 156  
 157  
 158  
 159  
 160  
 161  
 162  
 163  
 164  
 165  
 166  
 167  
 168  
 169  
 170  
 171  
 172  
 173  
 174  
 175  
 176  
 177  
 178  
 179  
 180  
 181  
 182  
 183  
 184  
 185  
 186  
 187  
 188  
 189  
 190  
 191  
 192  
 193  
 194  
 195  
 196  
 197  
 198  
 199  
 200  
 201  
 202  
 203  
 204  
 205  
 206  
 207  
 208  
 209  
 210  
 211  
 212  
 213  
 214  
 215  
 216  
 217  
 218  
 219  
 220  
 221  
 222  
 223  
 224  
 225  
 226  
 227  
 228  
 229  
 230  
 231  
 232  
 233  
 234  
 235  
 236  
 237  
 238  
 239  
 240  
 241  
 242  
 243  
 244  
 245  
 246  
 247  
 248  
 249  
 250  
 251  
 252  
 253  
 254  
 255  
 256  
 257  
 258  
 259  
 260  
 261  
 262  
 263  
 264  
 265  
 266  
 267  
 268  
 269  
 270  
 271  
 272  
 273  
 274  
 275  
 276  
 277  
 278  
 279  
 280  
 281  
 282  
 283  
 284  
 285  
 286  
 287  
 288  
 289  
 290  
 291  
 292  
 293  
 294  
 295  
 296  
 297  
 298  
 299  
 300  
 301  
 302  
 303  
 304  
 305  
 306  
 307  
 308  
 309  
 310  
 311  
 312  
 313  
 314  
 315  
 316  
 317  
 318  
 319  
 320  
 321  
 322  
 323  
 324  
 325  
 326  
 327  
 328  
 329  
 330  
 331  
 332  
 333  
 334  
 335  
 336  
 337  
 338  
 339  
 340  
 341  
 342  
 343  
 344  
 345  
 346  
 347  
 348  
 349  
 350  
 351  
 352  
 353  
 354  
 355  
 356  
 357  
 358  
 359  
 360  
 361  
 362  
 363  
 364  
 365  
 366  
 367  
 368  
 369  
 370  
 371  
 372  
 373  
 374  
 375  
 376  
 377  
 378  
 379  
 380  
 381  
 382  
 383  
 384  
 385  
 386  
 387  
 388  
 389  
 390  
 391  
 392  
 393  
 394  
 395  
 396  
 397  
 398  
 399  
 400  
 401  
 402  
 403  
 404  
 405  
 406  
 407  
 408  
 409  
 410  
 411  
 412  
 413  
 414  
 415  
 416  
 417  
 418  
 419  
 420  
 421  
 422  
 423  
 424  
 425  
 426  
 427  
 428  
 429  
 430  
 431  
 432  
 433  
 434  
 435  
 436  
 437  
 438  
 439  
 440  
 441  
 442  
 443  
 444  
 445  
 446  
 447  
 448  
 449  
 450  
 451  
 452  
 453  
 454  
 455  
 456  
 457  
 458  
 459  
 460  
 461  
 462  
 463  
 464  
 465  
 466  
 467  
 468  
 469  
 470  
 471  
 472  
 473  
 474  
 475  
 476  
 477  
 478  
 479  
 480  
 481  
 482  
 483  
 484  
 485  
 486  
 487  
 488  
 489  
 490  
 491  
 492  
 493  
 494  
 495  
 496  
 497  
 498  
 499  
 500  
 501  
 502  
 503  
 504  
 505  
 506  
 507  
 508  
 509  
 510  
 511  
 512  
 513  
 514  
 515  
 516  
 517  
 518  
 519  
 520  
 521  
 522  
 523  
 524  
 525  
 526  
 527  
 528  
 529  
 530  
 531  
 532  
 533  
 534  
 535  
 536  
 537  
 538  
 539  
 540  
 541  
 542  
 543  
 544  
 545  
 546  
 547  
 548  
 549  
 550  
 551  
 552  
 553  
 554  
 555  
 556  
 557  
 558  
 559  
 560  
 561  
 562  
 563  
 564  
 565  
 566  
 567  
 568  
 569  
 570  
 571  
 572  
 573  
 574  
 575  
 576  
 577  
 578  
 579  
 580  
 581  
 582  
 583  
 584  
 585  
 586  
 587  
 588  
 589  
 590  
 591  
 592  
 593  
 594  
 595  
 596  
 597  
 598  
 599  
 600  
 601  
 602  
 603  
 604  
 605  
 606  
 607  
 608  
 609  
 610  
 611  
 612  
 613  
 614  
 615  
 616  
 617  
 618  
 619  
 620  
 621  
 622

PLATE III. *Μέλη* and beginning of *Hecale* (*Dieg.* X)



# Bibliography

- ABBENES, J. G. J. (1996). 'The Doric of Theocritus. A Literary Language', in M. A. Harder *et al.* (1996), 1-19.
- ADAMS, J. N. (1982). *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London).
- ALBERT, W. (1988). *Das mimetische Gedicht in der Antike. Geschichte und Typologie von den Anfängen bis in die augusteische Zeit* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 190, Frankfurt am Main).
- ALEXIOU, M. (1974). *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge).
- ALLEN, A. (1993). *The Fragments of Mimnermus. Text and Commentary* (Palingenesia 44, Stuttgart).
- ARCHIBALD, H. Th. (1912). *The Fable as a Stylistic Test in Classical Greek Literature* (Baltimore).
- Archiloque (1964) = *Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt X* (Geneva).
- ARDIZZONI, A. (1960). 'Callimaco "Ipponatteo"', *AFLC* 28, 5-20.
- (1963). 'Considerazioni sulla struttura dei Giambi di Callimaco', in *Miscellanea di studi alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin), 257-62 = Skiadas (1975) 167-75.
- (1965). 'Echi Pitagorici in Apollonio Rodio e Callimaco', *RFIC* 93, 257-67.
- (1980). 'Riflessioni sul primo Giambo di Callimaco (Fr. 191 Pfeiffer)', *GIF* 11, 145-55.
- (1985). 'Ipponatte rivisitato', *GIF* 16, 275-80.
- ARNIM, H. VON (1910). *Zum neuen Kallimachos* (SAWW 164/4, Vienna).
- ARNOTT, G. (1977). 'Swan Songs', *G&R* 24, 149-53.
- AX, W. (1978). 'Ψόφος, φωνή und διάλεκτος als Grundbegriffe aristotelischer Sprachreflexion', *Glotta* 56, 245-71.
- (1991). 'Timons Gang in die Unterwelt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Literaturparodie', *Hermes* 119, 177-93.
- BAGNALL, R. S. (1976). *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 4, Leiden).
- BAILEY, C., BARBER, E. A., BOWRA, C. M., DENNISTON, J. D., and

- PAGE, D. L. (eds.) (1936). *Greek Poetry and Life* (FS Gilbert Murray, Oxford).
- BAIN, D. (1991). 'Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress (βινῶ, κινῶ, πυγίζω, ληκῶ, οἴφω, λαικάζω)', *CQ* 41, 51-77.
- BALL, R. J. (1983). *Tibullus the Elegist. A Critical Survey* (Hypomnemata 77, Göttingen).
- BARIGAZZI, A. (1954). 'Sull'Ecale di Callimaco', *Hermes* 82, 308-30.
- (1980). 'Note al Giambo IV di Callimaco (fr. 194 Pf.)', *Prometheus* 6, 243-7.
- BARKOWSKI, O. (1923). 'Sieben Weise', *RE* II A, 2242-64.
- BARNER, W. (1967). *Neuere Alkaios-Papyri aus Oxyrhynchos* (Spudasmata 14, Hildesheim).
- BARNS, J. W. B., and LLOYD-JONES, H. (1963). 'Uno nuovo frammento papiraceo dell'elegia ellenistica', *SIFC* 35, 205-27 = 'A New Papyrus Fragment of Hellenistic Elegy', in Lloyd-Jones (1990b), 196-215.
- BARTOLETTI, V. (1933). 'L'Allegoria del Fuoco nei "Giambi" di Callimaco', *SIFC* 10, 223-9 = 'Die Allegorie des Feuers in den Iamben des Kallimachos', tr. W. Wieter, in Skiadas (1975), 153-9.
- BAYER, E. (1983). *Fischerbilder in der hellenistischen Plastik* (diss. Bonn 1982; Habelts Dissertationsdrucke 19, Bonn).
- BECKER, C. (1964). 'Der Schild des Aeneas', *WS* 77, 111-27.
- BEISSNER, F. (1954). 'Poesie des Stils. Eine Hinführung zu Wieland', in *Wieland. Vier Biberacher Vorträge. 1953* (Wiesbaden), 5-34.
- BELL, J. M. (1978). 'Κίμβιξ καὶ κοφός: Simonides in the Anecdotal Tradition', *QUCC* 28, 29-86.
- BERGSON, L. (1986). 'Kallimachos, Iambos I (Fr. 191 Pf.), 26-28', *Eranos* 84, 11-6.
- BERNARDINI, P. ANGELI (1983). *Mito e attualità nelle odi di Pindaro. La Nemea 4, l'Olimpica 9, l'Olimpica 7* (Filologia e Critica 47, Rome).
- (1985). 'L'attualità agonistica negli epinici di Pindaro', in A. Hurst (ed.), *Pindare* (Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt XXXI, Geneva), 117-53.
- BERVE, H. (ed.) (1942). *Das neue Bild der Antike. I. Band: Hellas* (Leipzig).
- BICHLER, R. (1983). 'Hellenismus'. *Geschichte und Problematik eines Epochenbegriffs* (Impulse der Forschung 41, Darmstadt).
- BIEBER, M. (1961). *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (2nd edn. Princeton).
- BILL, C. P. (1941). 'Lecythizing', *CPh* 36, 46-51.
- BING, P. (1981). 'The Voice of Those who Live in the Sea: Empedocles and Callimachus', *ZPE* 41, 33-6.

- (1988). 'Theocritus' Epigrams on the Statues of Ancient Poets', *AGAJ* 34, 117–23.
- BLANCK, H. (1992). *Das Buch in der Antike* (Munich).
- BLECH, M. (1982). *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 38, Berlin).
- BLÜMNER, H. (1875. 1879. 1884. 1887). *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (4 vols., Leipzig).
- (1897). 'Bernstein', *RE* III 1, 295–304.
- BLUME, H.-D. (1978). *Einführung in das antike Theaterwesen* (Darmstadt).
- BLUMENTHAL, A. VON (1922). *Die Schätzung des Archilochos im Altertume* (Stuttgart).
- (1939). *Ion von Chios. Die Reste seiner Werke* (Stuttgart and Berlin).
- BOBROWSKI, A. (1991). 'The Propemptikon in the Augustan Poetry (Hor. Od. III 27; Prop. I 8; Ovid. Am. II 11: a comparative study)', *Eos* 79, 203–15.
- BOHREN, F. A. (1867). *De Septem Sapientibus* (diss. Bonn).
- BOLTON, J. D. P. (1962). *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford).
- BONANNO, M. G. (1980). 'Nomi e soprannomi archilochei', *MH* 37, 65–88.
- BONNER, C. (1951). 'A New Fragment of Callimachus (*Iamb.* XII, 57–70)', *Aegyptus* 31 (FS Girolamo Vitelli I), 133–7.
- BONNER, S. F. (1977). *Education in Ancient Rome: From the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny* (London).
- BOOTH, A. D. (1978). 'The Appearance of the *schola grammatici*', *Hermes* 106, 117–25.
- (1981). 'Some Suspect Schoolmasters', *Florilegium* 3, 1–20.
- BORNMANN, F. (1986). 'Note sulla fortuna di Callimaco a Roma', *RFIC* 114, 437–42.
- BOSSI, F. (1981). 'Appunti per un profilo di Archiloco', *QS* 13, 117–42.
- (1990). *Studi su Archiloco* (2nd edn. Bari).
- BOUSQUET, J. (1949). 'Callimaque, Hérodote et le trône de l'Hermès de Samothrace', *RA* VI 29–30 (FS Charles Picard I), 105–31.
- BOWIE, E. L. (1986). 'Early Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival', *JHS* 106, 13–35.
- BOYANCÉ, P. (1936). *Le Culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs. Études d'histoire et de psychologie religieuse* (BEFAR 141, Paris).
- (1952). 'Funus acerbum', *REA* 54, 275–89.
- BREMER, J. M., ERP TAALMAN KIP, A. MARIA VAN, and SLINGS, S. R. (1987). *Some Recently Found Greek Poems. Text and Commentary* (Mnemosyne Supplement 99, Leiden).



- BREMER, J. M., and HUYS, M. (1992). 'Some Remarks on the New Edition of the "Tattoo Poem" (= P. Brux. inv. E. 8934 + P. Sorb. inv. 2254)', *ZPE* 92, 118-20.
- BREWER, D. J., and FRIEDMAN, R. F. (1989). *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (The Natural History of Egypt 2, Warminster).
- BRIGHT, D. F. (1978). *Haec mihi fingebam. Tibullus in his World* (Cincinnati Classical Studies. New Series 3, Leiden).
- BROCK, R. (1990). 'Plato and Comedy', in Craik (1990), 39-49.
- BRODERSEN, K. (ed.) (1992). *Reiseführer zu den Sieben Weltwundern. Philon von Byzanz und andere antike Texte* (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig).
- BUCHHEIT, V. (1960). *Untersuchungen zur Theorie des Genos Epideiktikon von Gorgias bis Aristoteles* (Munich).
- BUCK, C. D. (1946). 'The Dialect of Cyrene', *CPh* 41, 129-34.
- BÜHLER, W. (1964). 'Archilochos und Kallimachos', in *Archiloque* (1964), 223-52.
- BULLE, H. (1928). *Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern* (ABAW 33, Munich).
- BULLOCH, A. W. (1973). 'Tibullus and the Alexandrians', *PCPhS* 19, 71-89.
- (1984). 'The Future of a Hellenistic Illusion. Some Observations on Callimachus and Religion', *MH* 41, 209-30.
- BURKERT, W. (1962). *Weisheit und Wissenschaft. Studien zu Pythagoras, Philolaos und Platon* (Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft X, Nuremberg).
- (1985). *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Oxford).
- (1992). *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, tr. M. E. Pinder and W. B. (Cambridge, Mass., and London).
- BURZACHECHI, M. (1962). 'Oggetti parlanti nelle epigrafi greche', *Epigraphica* 24, 3-54.
- BUX, E. (1924). 'Leandros 2', *RE* XII 1, 1047.
- CAHEN, É. (1929). *Callimaque et son œuvre poétique* (BEFAR 134, Paris).
- (1931). 'Supplementary Chapter' to A. Couat, *Alexandrian Poetry under the first three Ptolemies (324-222 B.C.)*, tr. J. Loeb (London and New York; orig. *La Poésie alexandrine sous les trois premiers Ptolémées (324-222 av. J.-C.)*, Paris 1882).
- (1935). 'L'œuvre poétique de Callimaque: documents nouveaux', *REG* 48, 279-321.
- CAIRNS, F. (1972). *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh).
- (1979). *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge).

- CALAIZZO, M. (1974-5). 'Per l'esegesi di Callimaco, *Ia*. V 26-29', *AFLN* 17/5, 65-9.
- CALDERINI, A. (1921). 'Dei "Giambi" di Callimaco', in *Miscellanea di studi critici in onore di Ettore Stampini* (Turin and Genoa), 157-63.
- CAMBIANO, G., CANFORA, L., and LANZA, D. (eds.) (1993). *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica I: La produzione e la circolazione del testo. ii: L'Ellenismo* (Rome).
- CAMERON, Alan (1970a). 'Pap.Ant. III. 115 and the Iambic Prologue in Late Greek Poetry', *CQ* 20, 119-29.
- (1970b). *Claudian. Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford).
- (1992). 'Genre and Style in Callimachus', *TAPhA* 122, 305-12.
- (1993). *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford).
- CANCIK, H. (1965). *Untersuchungen zur lyrischen Kunst des P. Papinius Statius* (diss. Tübingen 1964; Spudasmata 13, Hildesheim).
- and DAM, H.-J. VAN (1986). 'Statius, *Silvae*. Ein Bericht über die Forschung seit Friedrich Vollmer (1898)', *ANRW* II 32. 5, 2681-2753.
- CAPOVILLA, G. (1962). 'Callimachea et Libyca', *Aegyptus* 42, 27-97.
- (1967). *Callimaco* (2 vols., *Studia philologica* 10, Rome).
- CASTRUCCI, V. (1996). 'Elementi orientali nella letteratura ellenistica: per una lettura di Callimaco fr. 194 Pfeiffer', *QS* 43, 279-93.
- CAVARZERE, A. (ed.) (1992). *Orazio. Il Libro degli Epodi* (Venice).
- CHANTRAINE, P. (1974). 'Hermès Généiolès. A propos de Callimaque fr. 199 (Pfeiffer)', in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions* (FS Henri-Charles Puech, Paris), 125-8.
- CICHORIUS, C. (1908). *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius* (Berlin).
- CLAYMAN, D. L. (1975). 'Horace's *Epodes* VIII and XII: More Than Clever Obscenity', *CW* 69, 55-61.
- (1976). 'Callimachus' Thirteenth Iamb: The Last Word', *Hermes* 104, 29-35.
- (1978-9). 'Callimachus' Fourth Iamb', *Cj* 74, 142-8.
- (1988). 'Callimachus' *Iambi* and *Aetia*', *ZPE* 74, 277-86; with L. Koenen's corrections: *ZPE* 77, 1989, 292.
- COPPOLA, G. (1933-4). 'Archiloco nei "Giambi" di Callimaco', *RAIB* III 8, 3-16.
- (1935). *Cirene e il nuovo Callimaco* (Bologna).
- CORBATO, C. (1958). *Note callimachee* (Trieste).
- (1979). 'La funzione delle "fabulae" in Callimaco', in *La struttura della fabulazione antica* (Genoa), 45-64.
- COURTNEY, E. (1988). 'Callimachus *Iambus* II Fr. 192', *ZPE* 74, 276.



- COZZOLI, A.-T. (1996). 'Il I giambo e il nuovo ἰαμβίζειν di Callimaco', *Eikasmos* 7, 129-47.
- CRAIK, E. M. (ed.) (1990). *Owls to Athens* (FS Sir Kenneth Dover, Oxford).
- CRIBIORE, R. (1996). *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (diss. Columbia 1993; American Studies in Papyrology 36, Atlanta, Ga.).
- CRÖNERT, W. (1903). *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig).
- (1909). 'Delphische Weihepigramme', *JÖAI* 12, 151-3.
- CRUSIUS, O. (1905). 'Aus antiken Schulbüchern', *Philologus* 64, 142-6.
- CURTIUS, E., and ADLER, F. (1892). *Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung. Textband II: Die Baudenkmäler* (Berlin).
- CURTIUS, E. R. (1948). *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Berne; 9th edn. 1978).
- DAWSON, C. M. (1946). 'An Alexandrian Prototype of Marathus?', *AJPh* 67, 1-15.
- DEBUT, J. (1986). 'Les documents scolaires', *ZPE* 63, 251-78.
- DEGANI, E. (1984). *Studi su Ipponatte* (Studi e commenti 2, Bari).
- (1993). 'Aristofane e la tradizione dell'invettiva personale in Grecia', in J. M. Bremer and E. W. Handley (eds.), *Aristophane* (Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt XXXVIII, Geneva), 1-49.
- DELAGE, E. (1940). 'La polémique littéraire dans les nouveaux fragments de Callimaque', *REA* 42 (FS Georges Radet), 93-101.
- DELLA CORTE, F. (1980). 'Tibullo giambeggante', *MD* 5, 145-60.
- DENNISTON, J. D. (1936). 'Lyric Iambics in Greek Drama', in Bailey *et al.* (1936), 121-44.
- DEPEW, M. (1992). 'ἰαμβεῖον καλεῖται νῦν: Genre, Occasion, and Imitation in Callimachus, frs. 191 and 203 Pf.', *TAPhA* 122, 313-30.
- (1993). 'Mimesis and aetiology in Callimachus' *Hymns*', in M. A. Harder *et al.* (1993), 57-77.
- DEUBNER, L. (1921). 'Ein Stilprinzip hellenistischer Dichtkunst', *NJA* 47, 361-78 = (1982) 236-53.
- (1932). *Attische Feste* (Berlin).
- (1952). 'Die Gebräuche der Griechen nach der Geburt', *RhM* 95, 374-7 = (1982) 764-7.
- (1953). 'Die Saturae des Ennius und die Jamben des Kallimachos', *RhM* 96, 289-92 = (1982) 768-71.
- (1982). *Kleine Schriften zur klassischen Altertumskunde*, ed. O. Deubner (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 140, Königstein im Taunus).

- DICKEY, E. (1996). *Greek Forms of Address. From Herodotus to Lucian* (Oxford).
- DIELS, H. (1910). 'Orientalische Fabeln im griechischen Gewande', *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* 4 (6. August 1910), 993–1002.
- DILLER, H. (1962). 'Zu Kallimachos', *Hermes* 90, 119–21.
- DODDS, E. R. (1951). *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Sather Classical Lectures 25; Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London).
- DÖRPFELD, W., and REISCH, E. (1896). *Das griechische Theater. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Dionysos-Theaters in Athen und anderer griechischer Theater* (Athens).
- DORANDI, T. (1997). 'Tradierung der Texte im Altertum; Buchwesen', in Nesselrath (1977), 3–16.
- DOVER, K. J. (1964). 'The Poetry of Archilochus', in *Archiloque* (1964), 181–222 = (1987) 97–121.
- (1966). 'Aristophanes' Speech in Plato's *Symposium*', *JHS* 86, 41–50 = (1988) 102–14.
- (1971). *Theocritus. Select Poems* (London).
- (1974). *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford).
- (1978). *Greek Homosexuality* (London; 2nd edn. Cambridge, Mass., 1989).
- (1987). *Greek and the Greeks. Collected Papers I: Language, Poetry, Drama* (Oxford).
- (1988). *The Greeks and their Legacy. Collected Papers II: Prose Literature, History, Society, Transmission, Influence* (Oxford).
- (1997). *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (Oxford).
- DOWNNEY, G. (1959). 'Ekphrasis', *RAC* IV, 921–44.
- DUNBABIN, K. M. D. (1978). *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford).
- EBERT, J. (1972). *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen* (ASAW 63/2, Berlin).
- ECKER, U. (1990). *Grabmal und Epigramm. Studien zur frühgriechischen Sepulkraldichtung* (Palingenesia 29, Stuttgart).
- EICHGRÜN, E. (1961). *Kallimachos und Apollonios Rhodios* (diss. Berlin).
- EITREM, S. (1912). 'Hebdome', *RE* VII 2, 2579.
- EKSCHMITT, W. (1984). *Die Sieben Weltwunder. Ihre Erbauung, Zerstörung und Wiederentdeckung* (Mainz).
- ELLIGER, W. (1975). *Die Darstellung der Landschaft in der griechischen Dichtung* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 15, Berlin and New York).
- ESSER, D. (1976). *Untersuchungen zu den Odenschlüssen bei Horaz*

- (diss. Cologne 1975; Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 77, Meisenheim am Glan).
- FALIVENE, M. R. (1993). 'Callimaco serio-comico: il primo *Giambo* (fr. 191 Pf.)', in *Tradizione e innovazione nella cultura greca da Omero all'età ellenistica* (FS Bruno Gentili, Rome), III 911–25.
- FALTER, O. (1934). *Der Dichter und sein Gott bei den Griechen und Römern* (diss. Würzburg).
- FANTUZZI, M. (1984–6). 'ΦΡΥΞ ΕΙΜΙ. ΜΕΝ., *Aspis* 206ss., 242ss.', *AncSoc* 15–17, 113–19.
- (1993). 'Il sistema letterario della poesia alessandrina nel III sec. A. C.', in Cambiano *et al.* (1993), 31–73.
- FARAONE, CHR. A. (1992). *Talismans and Trojan Horses. Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (New York and Oxford).
- FARNELL, L. R. (1921). *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford).
- FAUST, M. (1970). 'Die künstlerische Verwendung von κύων "Hund" in den homerischen Epen', *Glotta* 48, 8–31.
- FEENEY, D. C. (1991). *The Gods in Epic. Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford).
- FEHLING, D. (1969). *Die Wiederholungsfiguren und ihr Gebrauch bei den Griechen vor Gorgias* (Berlin).
- (1985). *Die Sieben Weisen und die frühgriechische Chronologie. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Studie* (Berne, Frankfurt am Main, and New York).
- FIECHTER, E. R. (1914). *Die baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters. Eine Studie* (Munich).
- (1930–50). *Antike griechische Theaterbauten* (9 vols., Stuttgart).
- FINK, J. (1967). *Der Thron des Zeus in Olympia. Bildwelt und Weltbild* (Munich).
- FONTENROSE, J. (1978). *The Delphic Oracle. Its Responses and Operations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London).
- FORBES IRVING, P. M. C. (1990). *Metamorphosis in Greek Myth* (Oxford).
- FOWLER, B. H. (1989). *The Hellenistic Aesthetic* (Bristol).
- FOWLER, D. P. (1991). 'Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis', *JRS* 81, 25–35.
- FRAENKEL, E. (1920). 'Zur Form der αἶνοι', *RhM* 73, 366–70 = (1964) I 235–9.
- (1951). 'Additional Note on the Prose of Ennius', *Eranos* 49, 50–6 = (1964) II 53–8.
- (1952). 'The Culex', *JRS* 42, 1–9 = (1964) II 181–97.
- (1957). *Horace* (Oxford).
- (1963). 'Attische Scheltreihen', *Glotta* 41, 285f.

- (1964). *Kleine Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie* (2 vols., Rome).
- FRÄNKEL, H. (1945). *Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds* (Sather Classical Lectures 18, Los Angeles; 2nd edn. 1956).
- (1968). 'Eine Stileigenheit der frühgriechischen Literatur', in *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens. Literarische und philosophiegeschichtliche Studien*, ed. F. Tietze (3rd edn. Munich), 40–96.
- (1969). *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums. Eine Geschichte der griechischen Epik, Lyrik und Prosa bis zur Mitte des fünften Jahrhunderts* (3rd edn. Munich).
- FRENTZ, W. (1967). *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 21, Meisenheim am Glan).
- FREUDENBURG, K. (1993). *The Walking Muse. Horace on the Theory of Satire* (Princeton).
- FRIEDLÄNDER, P. (1931). 'Vorklassisch und nachklassisch', in W. Jaeger (ed.), *Das Problem des Klassischen und die Antike* (Leipzig and Berlin), 33–46.
- (1969). *Johannes von Gaza, Paulus Silentiarius und Prokopios von Gaza. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit. Mit Berichtigungen und Zusätzen zum Nachdruck* (Hildesheim and New York); the reprint includes *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit* (Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Kommentare zu griechischen und römischen Schriftstellern 8, Leipzig and Berlin 1912), and *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza. Des Prokopios von Gaza ΕΚΦΡΑΣΙΣ ΕΙΚΟΝΟΣ* (Studi e Testi 89, Vatican City 1939).
- FUCHS, W. (1983). *Die Skulptur der Griechen* (3rd edn. Munich).
- FÜHRER, R. (1967). *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik* (Zetemata 44, Munich).
- FÜHRER, Th. (1992). *Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Chorlyrikern in den Epinikien des Kallimachos* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 23, Basle and Kassel).
- (1993). 'Callimachus' Epinician Poems', in M. A. Harder *et al.* (1993), 79–97.
- GABATHULER, M. (1937). *Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter* (diss. Basle 1935, Leipzig).
- GALLANT, T. W. (1985). *A Fisherman's Tale: An Analysis of the Potential Productivity of Fishing in the Ancient World* (Miscellanea Graeca 7, Ghent).
- GALLAVOTTI, C. (1946). 'Il libro dei Giambi di Callimaco', *Antiquitas* 1, 11–22.
- (1957). 'Labyrinthos', *PP* 12, 161–76.
- GARDINER, E. N. (1910). *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London).

- GARDINER, E. N. (1930). *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford).
- GARUTI, G. (1984). *Latina de pueris instituendis testimonia usque ad Caesaris aetatem* (Rome).
- GEFFCKEN, J. (ed.) (1916). *Griechische Epigramme* (Kommentierte griechische und lateinische Texte 3, Heidelberg).
- GEISSLER, W. (1917). *Ad descriptionum historiam symbola* (diss. Leipzig 1914, Weiden).
- GERHARD, G. A. (1909). *Phoinix von Kolophon. Texte und Untersuchungen* (Leipzig and Berlin).
- GIANNINI, A. (1963). 'Callimaco e la Tragedia', *Dioniso* 37, 48-73.
- GÖRLER, W. (1965). 'Ovids Propemptikon (Amores 2,11)', *Hermes* 93, 338-47.
- GOW, A. S. F. (1951). 'Notes on Noses', *JHS* 71, 81-4.
- GRAF, F. (1997). 'Griechische Religion', in Nesselrath (1997), 455-504.
- GRIFFIN, J. (1980). *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford).
- GRIFFITH, M. (1977). *The Authenticity of 'Prometheus Bound'* (Cambridge).
- GRUBEN, G. (1986). *Die Tempel der Griechen* (4th edn. Munich).
- GUTZWILLER, K. J. (1996a). 'The Evidence for Theocritean Poetry Books', in M. A. Harder *et al.* (1996), 119-48.
- (1996b). 'Vergil and the Date of the Theocritean Epigram Book', *Philologus* 140, 92-9.
- (1998). *Poetic Garlands. Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 28; Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London).
- HÄUSSLER, R. (1973). 'Der Tod der Musen', *A&A* 19, 117-45.
- HAMMERSTAEDT, J. (1988). *Die Orakelkritik des Kynikers Oenomaus* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 188, Frankfurt am Main).
- (1997). 'Geschichte der griechischen Literatur: Spätantike', in Nesselrath (1997), 294-315.
- HANDS, A. R. (1968). *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome* (London).
- HANSEN, P. A. (1985). *A List of Greek Verse Inscriptions c.400-300 B.C. With Addenda et Corrigenda to CEG (LGVI 2)* (Copenhagen).
- HARDER, M. A., REGTUIT, R. F., and WAKKER, G. C. (eds.) (1993). *Callimachus* (Hellenistica Groningana I. Proceedings of the Groningen Workshops on Hellenistic Poetry, Groningen).
- (eds.) (1996). *Theocritus* (Hellenistica Groningana II. Proceedings of the Groningen Workshops on Hellenistic Poetry, Groningen).
- HARDER, R. (1942). 'Die Meisterung der Schrift durch die Griechen', in Berve (1942), 91-108 = (1960) 81-97.

- (1943). 'Bemerkungen zur griechischen Schriftlichkeit', *Die Antike* 19, 86–108 = (1960) 57–80.
- (1960). *Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Marg (Munich).
- HARDIE, A. (1983). *Statius and the Silvae. Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (ARCA 9, Liverpool).
- HARRAUER, H., and SJPSTEIJN, P. J. (1985). *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht* (2 vols., MPER XV, Vienna).
- HARRIOTT, R. (1969). *Poetry and Criticism Before Plato* (London).
- HARRIS, H. A. (1964). *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London).
- HAUSRATH, A. (1949). 'Ζεὺς καὶ τὰ θηρία', *Gymnasium* 56, 48–58.
- HEADLAM, W. (1901). 'τοκέων "A Parent" and the Kindred Forms', *CR* 15, 401–4.
- HEATH, Sir Thomas L. (1913). *Aristarchus of Samos, the Ancient Copernicus. A History of Greek Astronomy to Aristarchus together with Aristarchus's Treatise on the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon: A New Greek Text with Translation and Notes* (Oxford).
- (1921). *A History of Greek Mathematics* (2 vols., Oxford).
- (1931). *A Manual of Greek Mathematics* (Oxford).
- HECKENBACH, J. (1912). 'Hekate', *RE* VII 2, 2769–82.
- HEHN, V., and SCHRADER, O. (1894). *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa* (6th edn. Berlin).
- HEINZE, R. (1915). *Virgils epische Technik* (3rd edn. Leipzig and Berlin).
- HELM, R. (1906). *Lucian und Menipp* (Leipzig and Berlin).
- (1935). 'Reden in den Oden des Horaz', *Philologus* 90, 352–71.
- HENDERSON, J. (1975). *The Maculate Muse. Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (New Haven and London; 2nd edn. New York and Oxford 1991).
- HENRIKSSON, K.-E. (1956). *Griechische Büchertitel in der römischen Literatur* (Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn. B 102. 1, Helsinki).
- HENSEL, L. (1908). *Weissagungen in der alexandrinischen Poesie* (diss. Gießen).
- HERRMANN, H.-V. (1972). *Olympia. Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte* (Munich).
- HERTER, H. (1927). 'Das Kind im Zeitalter des Hellenismus', *Bj* 132, 250–8.
- (1929). 'Kallimachos und Homer. Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation des Hymnos auf Artemis', in *Xenia Bonnensia. Festschrift zum 75jährigen Bestehen des Philologischen Vereins und Bonner Kreises* (Bonn), 50–105 = (1975) 371–416.
- (1931). 'Kallimachos aus Kyrene', *RE Supplementband V*, 386–452.

- HERTER, H. (1937). 'Bericht über die Literatur zur hellenistischen Dichtung aus den Jahren 1921-1935. I. Teil', *Bursians Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 255/63, 64-281, at 82-218.
- (1942). 'Hellenismus und Hellenentum', in Berve (1942), 334-53.
- (1973). 'Kallimachos aus Kyrene', *RE Supplementband XIII*, 184-266.
- (1975). *Kleine Schriften*, ed. E. Vogt (Studia et Testimonia Antiqua 15, Munich).
- HERZOG, R. (1923-4). 'Der Traum des Herondas', *Philologus* 79, 386-433.
- (1926-7). 'Herondea', *Philologus* 82, 27-66.
- HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, FR. FREIHERR (ed.) (1926). *Historische griechische Epigramme* (Lietzmanns Kleine Texte 156, Bonn).
- HIRZEL, R. (1902). *Der Eid* (Leipzig).
- HÖCKER, CHR., and SCHNEIDER, L. (1993). *Phidias* (Reinbek bei Hamburg).
- HÖLSCHER, U. (1990). *Die Odyssee. Epos zwischen Märchen und Roman* (3rd edn. Munich).
- HOLLAND, R. (1925). 'Britomartis', *Hermes* 60, 59-65.
- HOLLIS, A. S. (1992). 'Attica in Hellenistic Poetry', *ZPE* 93, 1-15.
- (1994). 'Nonnus and Hellenistic Poetry', in N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies in the 'Dionysiaca' of Nonnus* (PCPhS Supplement 17, Cambridge), 43-62.
- HOLZBERG, N. (ed.) (1992). *Der Äsop-Roman. Motivgeschichte und Erzählstruktur* (Classica Monacensia 6, Tübingen).
- HOPFNER, TH. (1935). 'Nekromantie', *RE* XVI, 2218-33.
- HOPKINSON, N. (1982). 'Juxtaposed Prosodic Variants in Greek and Latin Poetry', *Glotta* 60, 162-77.
- HULOT, J., and FOUGÈRES, G. (1910). *Sélinonte: colonie dorienne en Sicile. La ville, l'acropole et les temples* (Paris).
- HUNGER, H. (1989). *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur* (Munich).
- HUNTER, R. L. (1983). *A Study of Daphnis & Chloe* (Cambridge).
- (1997). '(B)ionic man: Callimachus' iambic programme', *PCPhS* 43, 41-52.
- HUXLEY, G. (1965). 'Ion of Chios', *GRBS* 6, 29-46.
- HUYS, M. (1991). *Le Poème élégiaque hellénistique P. Brux. Inv. E. 8934 et P. Sorbonn. Inv. 2254* (Papyri Bruxellenses Graecae II 22, Bruxelles).
- IMMISCH, O. (1892). 'Ueber eine alte Pflanzenfabel', *Philologus* 51, 560.

- INGRAMS, L. V. (1967). 'Dialogue Epigrams' (Oxford; unpublished: Bodley MS B Litt d 1300).
- IRIGOIN, J. (1952). *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Études et commentaires XIII, Paris).
- JACKSON, R. (1988). *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire* (London).
- JACOBY, F. (1902). *Apollodors Chronik. Eine Sammlung der Fragmente* (Philologische Untersuchungen 16, Berlin).
- (1947). 'Some Remarks on Ion of Chios', *CQ* 41, 1–17.
- JÄGER, F. (1913). *Das antike Propemptikon und das 17. Gedicht des Paulinus von Nola* (diss. Munich, Rosenheim).
- JANKO, R. (1984). *Aristotle on Comedy. Towards a Reconstruction of Poetics II* (London).
- JENKYN, R. (1982). *Three Classical Poets. Sappho, Catullus, and Juvenal* (London).
- JOCELYN, H. D. (1980). 'A Greek Indecency and its Students: ΛΑΙΚΑΖΕΙΝ', *PCPhS* 26, 12–66.
- JONES, C. P. (1987). 'Stigma: Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity', *JRS* 77, 139–55.
- JUNG, F. (1929). *Hipponax redivivus* (diss. Gießen 1927, Bonn).
- KÄPPEL, L. (1992). *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 37, Berlin and New York).
- and KANNICHT, R. (1988). 'Noch einmal zur Frage "Dithyrambos oder Paian?" im Bakchylideskommentar P. Oxy. 23. 2368', *ZPE* 73, 19–24; with correction: *ZPE* 75, 1988, 72.
- KAMBYLIS, A. (1997). 'Abriß der byzantinischen Literatur', in Nesselrath (1997), 316–42.
- KANNICHT, R. (1975). 'Archilochos, Horaz und Hephaistion (Zu P. Colon. inv. 7511)', *ZPE* 18, 285–7.
- KAPSOMENOS, ST. G. (1937). 'Συμβολή εἰς τὴν ἐρμηνείαν τοῦ δευτέρου Ἰάμβου τοῦ Καλλιμάχου', *Athena* 47, 28–36.
- (1939–40). 'Zum Konnidas-Iambos des Kallimachos', *Byzŷ* 16, 190f.
- KARADAGLI, T. (1981). *Fabel und Ainos. Studien zur griechischen Fabel* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 135, Königstein im Taunus).
- KARTTUNEN, K. (1989). *India in Early Greek Literature* (Studia Orientalia 65, Helsinki).
- KASSEL, R. (1954). *Quomodo quibus locis apud veteres scriptores Graecos infantes atque parvuli pueri inducantur describantur commemorentur* (diss. Mainz 1951, Meisenheim am Glan) = (1991) 1–73.
- (1958a). 'Kleinigkeiten zu den Kallimachos-Fragmenten', *RhM* 101, 235–8 = (1991) 397–400.



- KASSEL, R. (1958b). *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur* (Zetemata 18, Munich).
- (1975). 'Quod versu dicere non est', *ZPE* 19, 211–18 = (1991) 131–7.
- (1983). 'Dialoge mit Statuen', *ZPE* 51, 1–12 = (1991) 140–53.
- (1986). 'Καλλίμαχον ἐκ Καλλιμάχου σαφηνίζειν', *Hermes* 114, 120f = (1991) 401f.
- (1987a). *Die Abgrenzung des Hellenismus in der griechischen Literaturgeschichte* (Berlin and New York) = (1991) 154–73.
- (1987b). [review of *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren*, see Schwinge (1985)], *GGA* 239, 188–228 = (1991) 534–78.
- (1991). *Kleine Schriften*, ed. H.-G. Nesselrath (Berlin and New York).
- KENYON, F. G. (1909). 'Two Greek School-Tablets', *JHS* 29, 29–40.
- KERÉNYI, K. (1950). *Pythagoras und Orpheus* (3rd edn. Zurich).
- KEYDELL, R. (1975). 'Phoinix von Kolophon', *Der Kleine Pauly* IV, 800.
- KIEFNER, G. (1964). *Die Versparung. Untersuchungen zu einer Stilfigur der dichterischen Rhetorik am Beispiel der griechischen Tragödie (unter Berücksichtigung des σχῆμα ἀπὸ κοινοῦ)* (Klassisch-Philologische Studien 25, Wiesbaden).
- KLEINKNECHT, H. (1937). *Die Gebetsparodie in der Antike* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 28, Stuttgart and Berlin).
- KLINGNER, F. (1964). *Studien zur griechischen und römischen Literatur*, ed. K. Bartels and E. Zinn (Zurich and Stuttgart).
- KNOX, A. D. (1923). *The First Greek Anthologist. With notes on some choliambic fragments* (Cambridge).
- (1925–6). 'Herodes and Callimachus', *Philologus* 81, 241–55.
- (1929). *Herodes, Cercidas, and the Greek Choliambic Poets (except Callimachus and Babrius)* (Loeb Classical Library 225, Cambridge, Mass., and London).
- KNOX, P. E. (1985). 'The Epilogue to the *Aetia*', *GRBS* 26, 59–65.
- (1993). 'The Epilogue to the *Aetia*: An Epilogue', *ZPE* 96, 175–8.
- KÖHNKEN, A. (1971). *Die Funktion des Mythos bei Pindar. Interpretationen zu sechs Pindargedichten* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 12, Berlin and New York).
- (1984). 'Πηλογόνων ἐλατήρ. Kallimachos, Zeushymnos V. 3', *Hermes* 112, 438–45.
- KOLB, F. (1981). *Agora und Theater, Volks- und Festversammlung* (Archäologische Forschungen 9, Berlin).
- KONSTAN, D. (forthcoming). 'The Dynamics of Imitation: Callimachus' First Iambic', in *Genre in Hellenistic Poetry*

- (Hellenistica Groningana III: Papers of the Third Groningen Workshop on Hellenistic Poetry, Groningen 28–31 August 1996).
- KORZENIEWSKI, D. (1968). *Griechische Metrik* (Darmstadt).
- (1970). 'Die erste Satire des Persius', in id. (ed.), *Die römische Satire* (Wege der Forschung 238, Darmstadt), 384–438.
- KOSTER, S. (1980). *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 99, Meisenheim am Glan).
- KRAMER, K. (1970). *Studien zur griechischen Agonistik nach den Epinikien Pindars* (diss. Cologne).
- KRIEGER, M. (1992). *Ekphrasis. The Illusion of the Natural Sign* (Baltimore and London).
- KROLL, J. (1963). 'Das Gottesbild aus dem Wasser', in H. Kuhn and K. Schier (eds.), *Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung* (FS Friedrich von der Leyen, Munich), 251–68.
- KROLL, J. H. (1993). *The Athenian Agora. Volume XXVI: The Greek Coins* (Princeton).
- KROLL, W. (1924). *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart).
- KUCHENMÜLLER, W. (ed.) (1928). *Philetæi Reliquiae* (diss. Berlin).
- KUIPER, K. (1916). 'Le Récit de la Coupe de Bathyclès dans les *Iambes* de Callimaque', *REG* 29, 404–29.
- KUNZE, E. (1946). 'Zeusbilder in Olympia', *A&A* 2, 95–113.
- LACROIX, L. (1949). *Les Reproductions des statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Liège).
- LAMBERT, W. G. (1960). *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford).
- LA PENNA, A. (1964). 'Letteratura esopica e letteratura assiro-babilonese', *RFIC* 92, 24–39.
- LAPP, F. (1965). *De Callimachi Cyrenaei tropis et figuris* (diss. Bonn).
- LAQUEUR, R. (1928). 'Maiandrios 3', *RE* XIV 1, 534f.
- LATTIMORE, R. (1942). *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 28, Urbana).
- LAUBSCHER, H. P. (1982). *Fischer und Landleute. Studien zur hellenistischen Genreplastik* (Mainz).
- LAUM, B. (1928). *Das alexandrinische Akzentuationssystem unter Zugrundelegung der theoretischen Lehren der Grammatiker und mit Heranziehung der praktischen Verwendung in den Papyri* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. 4. Ergänzungsband, Paderborn).
- LAVAGNINI, B. (1936). 'Osservazioni ai *Giambi* di Callimaco', *AAPal* III 19, 393–402 = *Da Mimnermo a Callimaco. Contributi esegetici e critici ai lirici Greci* (Turin 1950), 100–10 = *Atakta. Scritti minori di filologia classica bizantina e neogreca* (Palermo 1978), 321–8.

- LEE, G. M. (1977). 'Callimachus, Iambus IV, fr. 194, 100 (Pfeiffer)', *CQ* 27, 237.
- LEFKOWITZ, M. R. (1981). *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London).
- (1991). *First-Person Fictions. Pindar's Poetic 'I'* (Oxford).
- LEGRAND, P.-E. (1924). *La Poésie alexandrine* (Paris).
- LEHNUS, L. (1973). 'Contributo a due frammenti pindarici (fr. 37 e 168 Snell 3)', *SCO* 22, 5-18.
- (1993). 'Callimaco tra la *polis* e il regno', in Cambiano *et al.* (1993), 75-105.
- LEO, F. (1892-3). *De Statii Silvis commentatio* (Ind. lect. Göttingen).
- (1908). *Der Monolog im Drama. Ein Beitrag zur griechisch-römischen Poetik* (AGWG X 5, Berlin).
- LEUMANN, M. (1950). *Homerische Wörter* (Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 3, Basle).
- LEURINI, L. (ed.) (1992). *Ionis Chii testimonia et fragmenta* (Classical and Byzantine Monographs 23, Amsterdam).
- LIEGLE, J. (1952). *Der Zeus des Phidias* (Berlin).
- LIER, B. (1903. 1904). 'Topica carminum sepulcralium latinorum', *Philologus* 62, 445-77. 563-603; *Philologus* 63, 54-64.
- LILJA, S. (1976). *Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry* (Soc. Scient. Fenn. Comm. Hum. Litt. 56, Helsinki).
- LIPPOLD, G. (1938). 'Pheidias 2', *RE* XIX 2, 1919-35.
- LIVREA, E. (1979). 'Der Liller Kallimachos und die Mausefallen', *ZPE* 34, 37-42.
- LLOYD-JONES, H. (1967a). 'Heracles at Eleusis: P. Oxy. 2622 and PSI 1391 [= Pindar fr. 346 S.-M. ]', *Maia* 19, 206-29 = (1990a) 167-87.
- (1967b). 'Callimachus, fr. 191. 62', *CR* 17, 125-7 = (1990b) 128-30 = Skiadas (1975) 308-11 (German translation by H. J. Tschiedel).
- (1974). 'Callimachus Fr. 191. 61-3 Again', *CR* 24, 5.
- (1984). 'A Hellenistic Miscellany', *SIFC* III 2, 52-71 = (1990b) 231-49.
- (1985). 'Pindar and the Afterlife', in *Pindare* (Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt XXXI, Geneva), 245-83 = (1990a) 80-109.
- (1990a). *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy. The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones [I]* (Oxford).
- (1990b). *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea. The Academic Papers of Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones [II]* (Oxford).
- (1994). 'Again the Tattoo Elegy', *ZPE* 101, 4-7.
- and PARSONS, P. J. (1978). 'Iterum de *Catabasi Orphica*', in H. G. Beck, A. Kambylis, and P. Moraux (eds.), *Kyklos. Griechisches und Byzantinisches* (FS Rudolf Keydell, Berlin and New York),

- 88-100 = Lloyd-Jones (1990b) 333-42.  
 — and WILSON, N. G. (1990). *Sophoclea. Studies on the Text of Sophocles* (Oxford).  
 LOBECK, CHR. AUG. (1829). *Aglaophamus* (2 vols., Königsberg).  
 — (1846). *Πηματικόν sive Verborum Graecorum et nominum verbalium technologia* (Königsberg).  
 LOBEL, E. (ed.) (1925). *ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ ΜΕΛΗ. The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho* (Oxford).  
 — (1934a). 'The Choliambi of Callimachus in P. Oxy. 1011', *Hermes* 69, 167-78.  
 — (1934b). 'An Improvement in Callimachus, *Choliambi*' (Oxford).  
 — (1935). 'Callimachea', *Hermes* 70, 31-45.  
 LOEHR, J. (1996). *Ovids Mehrfacherklärungen in der Tradition aitiologischen Dichtens* (diss. Tübingen 1995; Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 74, Stuttgart).  
 LOHRISCH, H. (1905). *De Papinii Statii Silvarum poetae studiis rhetoricis* (diss. Halle).  
 LONG, A. A. (1978). 'Timon of Phlius: Pyrrhonist and Satirist', *PCPhS* 24, 68-91.  
 LONGO, O. (1989). *Le forme della predazione. Cacciatori e pescatori della Grecia antica* (Naples).  
 LORAUX, N. (1986). *The Invention of Athens. The Funeral Oration in the Classical City*, tr. A. Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass., and London).  
 LORIMER, H. L. (1936). 'Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology', in Bailey *et al.* (1936), 14-33.  
 LUCK, G. (1959). 'Kids and Wolves (An Interpretation of Callimachus, fr. 202. 69-70 Pf.)', *CQ* 9, 34-7.  
 — (1969). *The Latin Love Elegy* (2nd edn. London).  
 MAAS, P. (1903). 'Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber', *ByzZ* 12, 278-323 = (1973) 242-88.  
 — (1921). 'Konstantinos Rhodios und Kallimachos', *ByzŹ* 2, 302 = (1973) 419f.  
 — (1962). *Greek Metre*, tr. H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford).  
 — (1973). *Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Buchwald (Munich).  
 MAASS, E. (1923). 'Diktynna', *Hermes* 58, 175-86.  
 McCONNELL, B. E. (1984). 'The Paintings of Panainos at Olympia: What Did Pausanias See?', *HSPH* 88, 159-64.  
 MACDOWELL, D. (1990). 'The Meaning of ἀλαζών', in Craik (1990), 287-92.  
 MACLEOD, C. W. (1973). 'Catullus 16', *CQ* 23, 304-9 = (1983) 181-6.  
 — (1977). 'The Poet, the Critic, and the Moralist: Horace, *Epistles* 1. 19', *CQ* 27, 359-76 = (1983) 262-79.

- MACLEOD, C. W. (1983). *Collected Essays* (Oxford).
- MAEHLER, H. (1963). *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars* (Hypomnemata 3, Göttingen).
- (1983). 'Die griechische Schule im ptolemäischen Ägypten', *Studia Hellenistica* 27, 191–203.
- MAIR, A. W. (1928). *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Mass., and London).
- MALLWITZ, A. (1964). *Die Werkstatt des Pheidias in Olympia* (Olympische Forschungen V, Berlin).
- (1974). *Olympia und seine Bauten* (2nd edn. Munich).
- MALTOMINI, F. (1991). 'P. Bon. 3+4: una nota codicologica', *ZPE* 85, 239–43.
- MANAKIDOU, F. (1993). *Beschreibung von Kunstwerken in der hellenistischen Dichtung. Ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Poetik* (diss. Cologne 1992; Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 36, Stuttgart).
- MARCOVICH, M. (1970). 'Callimachus' Epigram XIII Again', *REG* 83, 351–5.
- (1971). 'Callimachus fr. 725 Pf.', *Emerita* 39, 185f.
- MARROU, H.-I. (1965). *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (6th edn. Paris).
- MAY, J. M. F. (1950). *Ainos. Its History and Coinage 474–341 B.C.* (Oxford).
- MEIGGS, R. (1982). *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford).
- MEJERING, R. (1987). *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia* (Groningen).
- MEILLIER, C. (1979). *Callimaque et son temps. Recherches sur la carrière et la condition d'un écrivain à l'époque des premiers Lagides* (Lille).
- MERKELBACH, R. (1951). 'Eine orphische Unterweltsbeschreibung', *MH* 8, 1–11.
- (1973). 'Wenn Eigennamen nicht ins Metrum passen', *ZPE* 12, 172.
- (1985). 'Weisse κβαξζβι-Milch (Zu Thespis 1 F 4 Snell)', *ZPE* 61, 293–6 = (1997) 73–6.
- (1997). *Philologica. Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Blümel, H. Engelmann, B. Kramer, J. Kramer, and C. E. Römer (Stuttgart and Leipzig).
- MILNE, J. G. (1908). 'Relics of Graeco-Egyptian Schools', *JHS* 28, 121–32.
- MITENS, K. (1988). *Teatri Greci e teatri ispirati all'architettura Greca in Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale c. 350–50 a. C. Un catalogo* (Analecta Romana Instituti Danici. Supplementum XIII, Rome).

- MORGAN, CH. H. (1952). 'Pheidias and Olympia', *Hesperia* 21, 295-339.
- MOST, G. (1981). 'Callimachus and Herophilus', *Hermes* 109, 188-96.
- MÜLLER, C. W. (1985). 'Die Archilochoslegende', *RhM* 128, 99-151.
- (1987). *Erysichthon. Der Mythos als narrative Metapher im Demeterhymnos des Kallimachos* (AAWM 1987/13, Mainz).
- (1990). 'Philetas oder Philitas?', in P. Steinmetz (ed.), *Beiträge zur hellenistischen Literatur und ihrer Rezeption in Rom* (Stuttgart), 27-37.
- MÜLLER, H. (1989). 'Ein neues hellenistisches Weihepigramm aus Pergamon', *Chiron* 19, 499-553.
- MUTH, R. (1951). 'Zu Call., Ia. IV, fr. 194, 37. 40 Pf. ', *AAHG* 4, 251-3.
- NAGY, G. (1976). 'Iambos. Typologies of Invective and Praise', *Arethusa* 9, 191-205.
- NÉRAUDAU, J.-P. (1984). *Être enfant à Rome* (Paris).
- NESSSELRATH, H.-G. (1990). *Die attische Mittlere Komödie. Ihre Stellung in der antiken Literaturkritik und Literaturgeschichte* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 36, Berlin and New York).
- (ed.) (1997). *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (Stuttgart and Leipzig).
- NEUMANN, G. (1965). *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin).
- NEUMEISTER, CHR. (1986). *Tibull. Einführung in sein Werk* (Heidelberger Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heidelberg).
- NEWMAN, J. K. (1974). 'Callimachus and the Epic', in J. L. Heller and J. K. N. (eds.), *Serta Turyniana* (FS Alexander Turyn; Urbana, Chicago, and London), 342-60.
- (1985). 'Pindar and Callimachus', *ICS* 10, 169-89.
- (1990). *Roman Catullus and the Modification of the Alexandrian Sensibility* (Hildesheim).
- NEWMYER, S. TH. (1979). *The Silvae of Statius. Structure and Theme* (Mnemosyne Supplement 53, Leiden).
- NILSSON, M. P. (1906). *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschuß der attischen* (Leipzig).
- (1955). *Die hellenistische Schule* (Munich).
- (1967). *Geschichte der griechischen Religion I: Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft V 2. 1, 3rd edn. Munich).
- NORDEN, E. (1913). *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig and Berlin).
- NOVOTNÝ, F. (1930). *Platonis Epistulae commentariis illustratae* (Opera

- facultatis philosophicae universitatis Masarykianae Brunensis 30, Brno).
- OPPERMANN, H. (1925). 'Herophilos bei Kallimachos', *Hermes* 60, 14-32 = Skiadas (1975) 1-20.
- OTTO, A. (1890). *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig).
- OVERBECK, J. (1868). *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen* (Leipzig).
- PADUANO, L. (1970). 'L'inversione del rapporto poeta—Musa nella cultura ellenistica', *ASNP* II 39, 377-86.
- PALUMBO STRACCA, B. M. (1980). *La teoria antica degli asinarteti* (*BollClass Suppl.* 3/1979, Rome).
- PARKE, H. W., and WORMELL, D. E. W. (1956). *The Delphic Oracle* (2 vols., Oxford).
- PARKER, R. (1983). *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford).
- PARSONS, P. J. (1977). 'Callimachus: Victoria Berenices', *ZPE* 25, 1-50.
- (1983). 'Recent Papyrus Finds: Greek Poetry', in *Actes FIEC VII* Vol. 2 (Budapest), 517-31.
- PASQUALI, G. (1920). *Orazio lirico* (Florence).
- (1986). *Scritti filologici*, ed. F. Bornmann, G. Pascucci, and S. Timpanaro (2 vols., Florence).
- PEISSEL, M. (1984). *The Ants' Gold. The Discovery of the Greek El Dorado in the Himalayas* (London).
- PEKÁRY, TH. (1975). 'Vereinswesen', *Der Kleine Pauly* V, 1188f.
- PELCKMANN, J. (1908). *Versus choliambi apud Graecos et Romanos historia* (diss. Greifswald).
- PERRY, B. E. (1962). 'Demetrius of Phalerum and the Aesopic Fables', *TAPhA* 93, 287-346.
- PESTMAN, P. W. (1981). *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (*P.L.Bat.* 21) (*P.Lugd.Bat.* XXI A-B, Leiden).
- PFEIFFER, R. (1928). 'Ein neues Altersgedicht des Kallimachos', *Hermes* 63, 302-41 = (1960) 98-132.
- (1931-2). 'Nachruf auf Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff', *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* 25, 148-52 = (1960) 269-76.
- (1933). 'Ein Epodenfragment aus dem Iambenbuche des Kallimachos', *Philologus* 88, 265-71.
- (1934a). 'Zum Papyrus Mediolanensis des Kallimachos', *Philologus* 89, 384f.
- (1934b). *Die neuen ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten* (SBAW 1934/10, Munich).
- (1938). 'Neue Lesungen und Ergänzungen zu Kallimachos-

- Papyri', *Philologus* 93, 61-73.
- (1941). 'The Measurements of the Zeus at Olympia. New Evidence from an Epode of Callimachus', *JHS* 61, 1-5 = (1960) 72-9.
- (1952). 'The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics', *JWI* 25, 20-32 = (1960) 55-71.
- (1955). 'The Future of Studies in the Field of Hellenistic Poetry', *JHS* 75, 69-73 = (1960) 148-58.
- (1960). *Ausgewählte Schriften. Aufsätze und Vorträge zur griechischen Dichtung und zum Humanismus*, ed. W. Bühler (Munich).
- (1968). *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford).
- PFISTER, F. (1909. 1912). *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten V 1. 2, Gießen).
- (1924). 'Epode', *RE Supplementband IV*, 323-44.
- PICARD, CH. (1942). 'Le Sculpteur Epeios: du Cheval de Troie au Taureau de Phalaris', *RN* V 6, 1-22.
- (1945). 'Callimaque et le Zeus d'Olympie', *RA* VI 24, 129-31.
- PODLECKI, A. J. (1979). 'Simonides in Sicily', *PP* 34, 5-16.
- PÖHLMANN, E. (1994). *Einführung in die Überlieferungsgeschichte und in die Textkritik der antiken Literatur. Band I: Altertum* (Darmstadt).
- POHLENZ, M. (1911). 'Die hellenistische Poesie und die Philosophie', in *Xáριτες* (FS Friedrich Leo, Berlin), 76-112 = (1965) II 1-37.
- (1965). *Kleine Schriften*, ed. H. Dörrie (2 vols., Hildesheim).
- POWELL, J. U., and Barber, E. A. (eds.) (1921). *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* (Oxford).
- (1929). *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature. Second Series* (Oxford).
- PREGER, TH. (ed.) (1891). *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae ex scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam collectae* (Leipzig).
- PREISSHOFEN, F. (1979). 'Kunsttheorie und Kunstbetrachtung', in *Le Classicisme à Rome aux Iers siècles avant et après J.-C.* (Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt XXV, Geneva), 261-82.
- PURCELL, N. (1995). 'Eating Fish: the Paradoxes of Seafood', in Wilkins *et al.* (1995), 132-49.
- QUINCEY, J. H. (1949). 'The Metaphorical Sense of *ΛΗΚΥΘΟΣ* and *Ampulla*', *CQ* 43, 32-44.
- QUINN, K. (1963). *Latin Explorations. Critical Studies in Roman Literature* (London).
- RACE, W. H. (1982). 'Aspects of Rhetoric and Form in Greek Hymns', *GRBS* 23, 5-14.



- RADERMACHER, L. (1923). 'Sardismos', *AAWW* 59, 1922 (Vienna 1923), 1-4.
- (1925). *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 1, 2nd edn. Tübingen).
- RANKIN, H. D. (1975). 'μοιχός, λάγνος καὶ ὑβριστής. Critias and his Judgement of Archilochus', *GB* 3, 323-34.
- RASCHE, W. (1910). *De Anthologiae Graecae epigrammatis quae colloquii formam habent* (diss. Münster).
- RAU, P. (1967). *Paratragodia. Untersuchung einer komischen Form des Aristophanes* (Zetemata 45, Munich).
- RAUBITSCHKE, A. E. (1968). 'Das Denkmal-Epigramm', in *L'Épigramme grecque* (Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt XIV, Geneva), 1-36.
- REES, B. R. (1961). 'Callimachus, *Iambus* 1. 9-11', *CR* 11, 1-3.
- REHRENBÖCK, G. (1987). 'Bemerkungen zum Wortschatz des Pherekrates', *WS* 100, 47-68.
- REINER, E. (1938). *Die rituelle Totenklage der Griechen* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 30, Stuttgart and Berlin).
- REINSCH-WERNER, H. (1976). *Callimachus Hesiodicus. Die Rezeption der hesiodischen Dichtung durch Kallimachos von Kyrene* (diss. Berlin).
- RENGAKOS, A. (1992). 'Homerische Wörter bei Kallimachos', *ZPE* 94, 21-47.
- (1994). *Apollonios Rhodios und die antike Homererklärung* (Zetemata 92, Munich).
- RIBBECK, O. (1882). *Alazon. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie und zur Kenntnis der griechisch-römischen Komödie* (Leipzig).
- RICHTER, G. M. A. (1965). *The Portraits of the Greeks* (3 vols., London).
- (1966). 'The Pheidian Zeus at Olympia', *Hesperia* 35, 166-70.
- and SMITH, R. R. R. (1984). *The Portraits of the Greeks* (Abridged and revised, Oxford).
- ROBERT, C. (1886). *Archäologische Märchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* (Philologische Untersuchungen 10, Berlin).
- RÖSLER, W. (1980). *Dichter und Gruppe. Eine Untersuchung zu den Bedingungen und zur historischen Funktion früher griechischer Lyrik am Beispiel Alkaios* (Theorie und Geschichte der Schönen Künste 50, Munich).
- (1991). 'Die Sieben Weisen', in A. Assmann (ed.), *Weisheit* (Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation III, Munich), 357-65.
- (1993). 'Über Aischrologie im archaischen und klassischen

- Griechenland', in S. Döpp (ed.), *Karnevaleske Phänomene in antiken und nachantiken Kulturen und Literaturen* (Stätten und Formen der Kommunikation im Altertum I. Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 13, Trier), 75–97.
- ROHDE, E. (1914). *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (3rd edn. Leipzig).
- ROSCHER, W. H. (1903). *Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Chronologie und Zahlenmystik* (ASAW 21/4, Leipzig).
- (1904). *Die Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythos der Griechen. Nebst einem Anhang, Nachträge zu den "Enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen" enthaltend* (ASAW 24/1, Leipzig).
- (1906). *Die Hebdomadenlehre der griechischen Philosophen und Ärzte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Medizin* (ASAW 24/6, Leipzig).
- (1911). *Über Alter, Ursprung und Bedeutung der hippokratischen Schrift von der Siebenzahl. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der ältesten griechischen Philosophie und Prosaliteratur* (ASAW 28/5, Leipzig).
- (1913). *Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl in ihrer vierfachen Überlieferung, zum erstenmal herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums VI 3/4, Paderborn).
- ROSE, H. J. (1923). 'The Speaking Stone', *CJ* 37, 162f.
- ROSEN, R. M. (1988). *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition* (American Classical Studies 19, Atlanta, Ga.).
- ROSENKRANZ, M. L. (1964). 'Gli "atticismi" negli scoli di Aristofane', *Helikon* 4, 261–78.
- ROSSI, L. E. (1971). 'I generi letterari e le loro leggi scritte e non scritte nelle letterature classiche', *BICS* 18, 69–94.
- (1975). 'Verskunst', *Der Kleine Pauly* V, 1210–18 (corr. et add. in fine vol.).
- (1976). 'Asynarteta from the Archaic to the Alexandrian Poets: On the Authenticity of the New Archilochus', *Arethusa* 9, 207–29 = 'Teoria e storia degli asinarteti dagli arcaici agli alessandrini (Sull'autenticità del nuovo Archiloco)', in *Problemi di metrica classica* (Genoa 1978), 29–48.
- ROSTAGNI, A. (1934). 'Le nuove ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ e l'ordinamento dei carmi di Callimaco', *RFIC* 12, 289–312 = *Scritti Minori* II 1 (Turin 1956), 340–62.
- RUJGH, C. J. (1957). *L'Élément achéen dans la langue épique* (Assen).
- (1971). *Autour de "τε épique". Études sur la syntaxe grecque* (Amsterdam).

- RUJGH, C. J. (1984). 'Le dorien de Théocrite: dialecte cyrénien d'Alexandrie et d'Égypte', *Mnemosyne* IV 37, 56–88.
- SAMTER, E. (1901). *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin).
- (1911). *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod. Beiträge zur vergleichenden Volkskunde* (Leipzig and Berlin).
- SCAPARRO, M., DE SEPTIS, F., CIANCIO ROSSETTO, P., and PISANI SARTORIO, G. (eds.) (1994). *Teatri Greci e Romani. Alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato. Censimento analitico* (3 vols., Rome).
- SCHADEWALDT, W. (1926). *Monolog und Selbstgespräch. Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte der griechischen Tragödie* (Neue philologische Untersuchungen 2, Berlin).
- (1959). *Neue Kriterien zur Odyssee-Analyse. Die Wiedererkennung des Odysseus und der Penelope* (SHAW 2/1959, 2nd edn. 1966, Heidelberg) = (1970) I 58–78.
- (1970). *Hellas und Hesperien. Gesammelte Schriften zur Antike und zur neueren Literatur in zwei Bänden*, ed. R. Thurow and E. Zinn (2 vols., Zurich and Stuttgart).
- SCHMIDT, E. A. (1976). 'Interpretationen kallimacheischer Epigramme. Uvo Hölscher zum 60. Geburtstag', *Hermes* 104, 146–55.
- (1977). 'Amica vis pastoribus. Der Jambiker Horaz in seinem Epodenbuch', *Gymnasium* 84, 401–23.
- (1978). 'Archilochos, Kallimachos, Horaz. Jambischer Geist in drei Epochen', *WHB* 20, 1–17.
- (1990). *Notwehrdichtung. Moderne Jambik von Chénier bis Borchardt (mit einer Skizze zur antiken Jambik)* (Munich).
- (1993). 'Öffentliches und privates Ich. Zur Funktion frühgriechischen und alexandrinisch-neoterischen Epochenstils in Horazens Jambik', in G. W. Most, H. Petersmann, and A. M. Ritter (eds.), *Philanthropia kai Eusebeia* (FS Albrecht Dihle, Göttingen), 454–67.
- SCHMIDT, W. (1908). *Geburtstag im Altertum* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten VII, Gießen).
- (1910). 'Γενέθλιος ἡμέρα', *RE* VII 1, 1135–49.
- SCHMITT, A. (1989). 'Ironie und Spiel bei Theokrit?', *WJA* 15, 107–18.
- SCHMITT, R. (1967). *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden).
- SCHNEIDER, C. (1967. 1969). *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* (2 vols., Munich).
- SCHRADER, H. (1941). 'Das Zeusbild des Pheidias in Olympia', *JDAI* 56, 1–71.
- SCHRAMM, A. (1942). 'Ορείχαλκος', *RE* XVIII 1, 938–41.
- SCHRIER, O. J. (1979). 'Love with Doris. Dioscorides', *Anth.Pal.* V 55

- (= 1483-1490 Gow-Page)', *Mnemosyne* IV 32, 307-26.
- SCHWINGE, E.-R. (1985). 'Wilamowitz und das Verständnis der hellenistischen Poesie', in W. M. Calder III, H. Flashar, and Th. Lindken (eds.), *Wilamowitz nach 50 Jahren* (Darmstadt), 151-77.
- (1986). *Künstlichkeit von Kunst. Zur Geschichtlichkeit der alexandrinischen Poesie* (Zetemata 84, Munich).
- SCODEL, R. (1987). 'Horace, Lucilius, and Callimachean Polemic', *HSPH* 91, 199-215.
- SECCI, E. (1957). 'Echi di religione pre-ellenica nell'inno a Delo di Callimaco', *RIL* 91, 803-54.
- (1959). 'Tradizioni culturali tirreniche', *SMSR* 30, 83-107.
- SEMERANO, G. (1951). 'Archiloco nel giudizio del passato', *Maia* 4, 167-86.
- SICKING, C. M. J., and RAALTE, M. VAN (1993). *Griechische Verslehre* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II 4, Munich).
- SIEBERT, G. (1990). 'Hermes', *LIMC* V 1, 285-387.
- SITTL, C. (1890). *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig).
- SKIADAS, A. D. (ed.) (1975). *Kallimachos* (Wege der Forschung 296, Darmstadt).
- SKUTSCH, F. (1901). *Aus Vergils Frühzeit* (Leipzig).
- SKUTSCH, O. (1985). *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford).
- SLINGS, S. R. (1993). 'Hermesianax and the Tattoo Elegy (P. Brux. inv. E. 8934 and P. Sorb. inv. 2254)', *ZPE* 98, 29-37.
- SMOTRYTSCH, A. P. (1962). 'Eronda e il vecchio', *Helikon* 2, 605-14.
- SNELL, B. (1954). 'Zur Geschichte vom Gastmahl der Sieben Weisen', in *Thesaurismata* (FS Ida Kapp, Munich), 105-11 = (1966) 115-18.
- (1965). *Dichtung und Gesellschaft. Studien zum Einfluß der Dichter auf das soziale Denken und Verhalten im alten Griechenland* (Hamburg).
- (1966). *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. H. Erbse (Göttingen).
- (1980a). 'Pindars Hymnos auf Zeus', in (1980d), 82-94.
- (1980b). 'Aristophanes und die Ästhetik', in (1980d), 111-26.
- (1980c). 'Über das Spielerische bei Kallimachos', in (1980d), 244-56.
- (1980d). *Die Entdeckung des Geistes. Studien zur Entstehung des europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen* (5th edn. Göttingen).
- (1982). *Griechische Metrik* (Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft 1, 4th edn. Göttingen).
- SPARKES, B. (1995). 'A Pretty Kettle of Fish', in Wilkins *et al.* (1995), 150-61.
- STADEN, H. VON (1989). *Herophilus. The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge).

- STAEHELIN, H. (1934). *Die Religion des Kallimachos* (diss. Zurich, Tübingen).
- STANZEL, K.-H. (1994-5). 'Theokrits "Bukolika" und Vergil', *WJA* 20, 151-66.
- STEINMETZ, P. (1962). *Theophrast. Charaktere* (Das Wort der Antike VII 1. 2, Munich).
- STENGEL, P. (1883). 'Die Einführung der in homerischer Zeit noch nicht bekannten Opfer in Griechenland', *NJPhP* 127, 361-79.
- (1894). 'Amphidromia', *RE* I 2, 1901f.
- (1910). *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin).
- (1914). 'Zu den griechischen Schwuopfern', *Hermes* 49, 90-101.
- (1920). *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft V 3, 3rd edn. Munich).
- STERN, J. (1978). 'Theocritus' Epithalamium for Helen', *RBPh* 56, 29-37.
- STEVENS, E. B. (1933). 'Counsel in Pre-Philosophic Greek Literature', *CPh* 28, 104-20.
- STINTON, T. C. W. (1976). 'Si Credere Dignum Est: Some Expressions of Disbelief in Euripides and Others', *PCPhS* 22, 60-89 = *Collected Papers on Greek Tragedy. With a Foreword by Hugh Lloyd-Jones* (Oxford 1990), 236-64.
- STROH, W. (1971). *Die römische Liebeslegie als werbende Dichtung* (Amsterdam).
- STROUX, J. (1934). 'Erzählungen aus Kallimachos', *Philologus* 89, 301-19.
- SUERBAUM, W. (1968). *Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter: Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius* (Spudasmata 19, Hildesheim).
- SÜSS, W. (1912). 'Hestia', *RE* VIII 1, 1257-1304.
- SZÁDECKY-KARDOSS, S. (ed.) (1959). *Testimonia de Mimnermi vita et carminibus* (Szeged).
- TAPLIN, O. (1977a). *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus. The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford).
- (1977b). 'Did Greek Dramatists Write Stage Instructions?', *PCPhS* 23, 121-32.
- TARÁN, S. L. (1985). 'ΕΙΣΙ ΤΡΙΧΕΣ: An Erotic Motif in the Greek Anthology', *JHS* 105, 90-107.
- TARDITI, G. (1978). 'Le Muse povere (Call. Ia. I, fr. 191, 92-93 Pf.)', in E. Livrea and G. A. Privitera (eds.), *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni* (2 vols., Rome), II 1013-21.
- TARN, W. W. (1933). 'Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind', *PBA* 19, 123-66.
- TEDESCHI, G. (1979). 'Ricerche ipponattee', *AMArc* VII 3, 117-41.

- TERZAGHI, N. (1951). 'Adversaria Callimachea', *Aegyptus* 31 (FS Girolamo Vitelli I), 173-6.
- THEMELIS, P. G. (1994). 'Artemis Ortheia at Messene. The Epigraphical and Archaeological Evidence', in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence* (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae XIII. Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens 22-24 November 1991, Stockholm), 101-22.
- THIELE, G. (1911). 'Phädrus-Studien', *Hermes* 46, 376-92.
- THIELSCHER, P. (1953). 'Die Schallgefäße des antiken Theaters', in H. Kusch (ed.), *FS Franz Dornseiff* (Leipzig), 334-71.
- THOMAS, R. F. (1979). 'New Comedy, Callimachus, and Roman Poetry', *HSPH* 83, 179-206.
- THOMPSON, D'ARCY W. (1895). *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford).
- (1936). *A Glossary of Greek Birds. A New Edition* (Oxford).
- (1947). *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (St Andrews University Publications XLV, London).
- TOD, M. N. (1932). *Sidelights on Greek History. Three Lectures on the Light Thrown by Greek Inscriptions on the Life and Thought of the Ancient World* (Oxford).
- (1945). 'Epigraphical Notes on Greek Coinage', *NC* VI 5, 108-16.
- TREU, M. (1963). 'Selbstzeugnisse alexandrinischer Dichter (Kallimachos, 13. Iambos; Theokrit XVI)', in *Miscellanea di studi alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin), 273-90.
- TSCHUSCHKE, A. (1913). *De πρίν particulae apud scriptores aetatis Augustae prosaicos usu* (diss. Breslau).
- TSIRIBAS, D. A. (1955). 'Καλλιμάχου ἱάμβος κατὰ Εὐθυδήμου', *Athena* 59, 150-74.
- TUCKER, J. A. (1987). *Ritual Insults for Gluttony and Laziness in Greek Poetic Initiations: 'Theogony' 26 and Its Echoes* (diss. Ann Arbor, Mich.).
- VALK, M. VAN DER (1983). 'Eustathius and Callimachus', *GRBS* 24, 367-73.
- VAZQUEZ, B. (1952). 'A Vergilian Parallel in Callimachus', *Aegyptus* 32 (FS Girolamo Vitelli II), 253-6.
- VISCHER, R. (1965). *Das einfache Leben. Wort- und motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem Wertbegriff der antiken Literatur* (Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft 11, Göttingen).
- VOGELPOHL, CHR. (1980). 'Die Niobiden vom Thron des Zeus in Olympia', *JDAI* 95, 197-226.
- WACHSMUTH, D. (1967). *ΠΟΜΠΙΜΟΣ Ο ΔΑΙΜΩΝ. Untersuchungen*

- zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen (diss. FU Berlin 1960, Berlin).
- (1975). 'Propemptikon', *Der Kleine Pauly* IV, 1179f.
- WACKERNAGEL, J. (1926. 1928). *Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch und Deutsch* (2 vols., 2nd edn. Basle).
- WÆRN, I. (1951). *ΓΗΣ ΟΣΤΕΑ. The Kenning in Pre-Christian Greek Poetry* (diss. Uppsala).
- (1952). 'Zur Synästhesie in griechischer Dichtung', *Eranos* 50, 14–22.
- WAITES, M. C. (1912). 'Some Features of the Allegorical Debate in Greek Literature', *HSPH* 23, 1–46.
- WANNAGAT, D. (1997). *Der Blick des Dichters. Antike Kunst in der Weltliteratur* (Darmstadt).
- WATSON, L. C. (1991). *Arae. The Curse Poetry of Antiquity* (ARCA 26, Leeds).
- WEBSTER, T. B. L. (1970). *Studies in Later Greek Comedy* (2nd edn. Manchester).
- WEIHER, A. (1913). *Philosophen und Philosophenspott in der attischen Komödie* (diss. Munich).
- WEILER, I. (1981). *Der Sport bei den Völkern der Alten Welt* (Darmstadt).
- WEINREICH, O. (1929). 'Türöffnung im Wunder-, Prodigien- und Zauberglauben der Antike, des Judentums und Christentums', in *Genethliakon* (FS Wilhelm Schmid, Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft V, Stuttgart), 200–452 = *Gebet und Wunder. Zwei Abhandlungen zur Religions- und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1929), 34–286 = *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Darmstadt 1968), 38–290.
- WENDEL, C. (1935). 'Leandrios', *Hermes* 70, 356–60.
- WENIGER, L. (1919). *Altgriechischer Baumkultus* (Das Erbe der Alten. N. F. II, Leipzig).
- WERRES, J. (1936). *Die Beteuerungsformeln in der attischen Komödie* (diss. Bonn).
- WEST, M. L. (1969). 'Near Eastern Material in Hellenistic and Roman Literature', *HSPH* 73, 113–34.
- (1971). 'Callimachus on the Pythagoreans', *CR* 21, 330f.
- (1974). *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 14, Berlin and New York).
- (1982). *Greek Metre* (Oxford).
- (1983). *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford).
- (1985). 'Ion of Chios', *BICS* 32, 71–8.
- (1992). *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford).

- (1997). *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford).
- WHEELER, A. L. (1910). 'Propertius as Praeceptor Amoris', *CPh* 5, 28–40.
- (1910–11). 'Erotic Teaching in Roman Elegy and the Greek Sources. Part I', *CPh* 5, 440–50; 'Part II', *CPh* 6, 56–77.
- WHITAKER, R. (1983). *Myth and Personal Experience in Roman Love-Elegy. A Study in Poetic Technique* (Hypomnemata 76, Göttingen).
- WIECHERS, A. (1961). *Aesop in Delphi* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 2, Meisenheim am Glan).
- WIERSMA, W. (1933–4). 'The Seven Sages and the Prize of Wisdom', *Mnemosyne* III 1, 150–4.
- WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, U. VON (1905. 1912). *Die griechische Literatur des Altertums*, in P. Hinneberg (ed.), *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I Abteilung VIII: Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache (Berlin and Leipzig), 1–236 (1st edn.); 3–318 (3rd edn.).
- (1913). *Sappho und Simonides. Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker* (Berlin).
- (1921). *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin).
- (1924). *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* (2 vols., Berlin).
- (1931. 1932). *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (2 vols., Berlin; repr. as 2nd edn. Darmstadt 1955, with new pagination).
- WILKINS, J., HARVEY, D., and DOBSON, M. (eds.) (1995). *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter).
- WILKINSON, L. P. (1969). *The Georgics of Vergil. A Critical Survey* (Cambridge).
- WILLS, J. (1996). *Repetition in Latin Poetry. Figures of Allusion* (Oxford).
- WIMMEL, W. (1960). *Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit* (Hermes Einzelschriften 16, Wiesbaden).
- (1968). *Der frühe Tibull* (Studia et Testimonia Antiqua 6, Munich).
- WINDEKENS, A. J. VAN (1957). 'Les Hyperboréens', *RhM* 100, 164–9.
- WISEMAN, T. P. (1969). *Catullan Questions* (Leicester).
- WOODBURY, L. (1968). 'Pindar and the Mercenary Muse: *Isthm.* 2. 1–13', *TAPhA* 99, 527–42.
- WÜLFING, P. (1981). 'Hymnos und Gebet. Zur Formgeschichte der älteren griechischen Hymnendichtung', *StudClas* 20, 21–31.
- WULF, H. (1896). *De fabellis cum collegii Septem Sapientium memoria coniunctis* (diss. Halle).



- WYSS, B. (ed.) (1936). *Antimachi Colophonii reliquiae* (Berlin).
- YOSHIDA, A. (1965). 'Sur quelques coupes de la fable grecque', *REA* 67, 31-6.
- ZALATEO, G. (1961). 'Papiri scolastici', *Aegyptus* 41, 160-235.
- ZANKER, G. (1981). 'Enargeia in the Ancient Criticism of Poetry', *RhM* 124, 297-311.
- (1987). *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry: A Literature and Its Audience* (London and Sydney).
- ZANKER, P. (1995). *Die Maske des Sokrates. Das Bild des Intellektuellen in der antiken Kunst* (Munich).
- ZIEBARTH, E. (1909). *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen. Eudemos von Milet und Verwandtes* (Leipzig; 2nd edn. 1914).
- (1910). *Aus der antiken Schule* (Lietzmanns Kleine Texte 65, Bonn; 2nd edn. 1913).
- ZIEGLER, K. (1921). 'Selinus 8', *RE* II A, 1266-1308.
- ZIEHEN, L. (1906). *Leges Graecorum sacrae e titulis collectae II i: Leges Graeciae et insularum* (Leipzig).

# Index

- $\acute{\alpha}$  139 n. 104  
 accent marks 21, 24, 26 n. 95, 37  
     n. 166, 66, 67, 77, 93 n. 47,  
     159, 190 n. 31, 194 n. 58, 222  
     n. 22  
 accentuation 21 n. 63, 77 n. 73, 190  
     n. 31  
 address 53 n. 29, 83 n. 2, 132, 143,  
     148, 173, 222, 236  
     forms of 20 n. 56, 25 n. 94, 36 n.  
     157, 127-8, 259 n. 50  
     self-address 238 n. 127, 239  
 Ἀδώνια 80 n. 93  
 ἀδύνατον, inverse 244 n. 166  
 Aesop 53-4, 60, 62, 86 n. 15  
 aetiology 58-9, 185-6, 195-6,  
     198-9, 201, 203, 206, 207, 210,  
     214, 239 n. 131, 248 n. 190  
     *see also* etymology  
 ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος 98 n. 74  
 ἄγων 35 n. 153, 39, 104-6  
 Ainos 187 n. 20  
 αἶνος 35 n. 152, 84 n. 6  
 αἰσχροκέρδεια 71 n. 46, 81 n. 98  
 ἀλαζών 24 n. 85  
 Alcmeon 44  
 allegory 104 n. 100, 111-12, 134,  
     137, 144-5  
 Ἀμφιδρόμια 221 n. 15  
 ἀνάβας 13 n. 26, 15-17, 30-1  
 ants 239-40  
 ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, *see Versparung*  
 Apollonius Rhodius 124 n. 10, 156  
     n. 45, 200-1  
 Archilochus 3-4, 59-62, 81 n. 101,  
     115, 220-1, 293-4  
 Ἀριμαστοί 240 n. 239  
 Aristophanes 15-16  
 Artemis:  
     associated with cities and moun-  
         tains 225  
     Εἰλείθυια 224  
     Κολαινίς 211  
     κουροτρόφος 246  
 astronomy 39  
 asyndeton 65, 198-9, 224 n. 36,  
     231, 233-6, 239, 240-1, 241-2  
 attacks on individuals 2, 44, 51-2,  
     58-63, 76, 81, 143, 294; *cf.* 201,  
     221  
     *see also* address  
 'Attic' = 'not κοινή' 28 n. 112  
 αὐλός 78 n. 79, 264 n. 84  
 αὐθι for αὐτις 194 n. 58  
 Babrius 7, 33 n. 44, 49 n. 3, 103 n.  
     94, 206 n. 52  
 birthday-poems 221 n. 16  
 book composition 282-3, 286-90  
 Branchus 92  
 bulls, angry 45 n. 211  
 catalogue poems 290 n. 110  
 children 37 n. 170, 248 n. 189  
     buried by their parents 98 n. 75  
 choliambus, *see* scazon  
 comedy 8, 15-17, 19 n. 53, 30, 40  
     n. 189, 76 n. 65, 101 n. 86, 102  
     n. 89, 257, 291 n. 113  
 conventions exploited 14-15, 150,  
     157, 179, 182-4, 195-6, 203-4,  
     215-16, 290  
 Corycaean eavesdropping 45 n. 213  
 crasis marks 26 n. 95, 68 n. 28, 91  
     n. 35, 95 n. 60, 108 n. 120, 156  
     n. 46

- crowns 108 n. 120
- Daphne 96 n. 64
- date of the *Iambi* 23 n. 77, 283 n. 72
- δέ, inceptive 102 n. 91
- Delphi's riches 237 n. 122
- Delphians 27, 32 n. 132, 60 n. 68, 62 n. 76
- dialects 154 n. 34, 187 n. 20, 190 n. 32, 199, 206 n. 50, 215 n. 102, 257 n. 45  
see also Doric
- dialogue poems 183 n. 3, 205 n. 44
- Diegeses* simplify 26, 34 n. 148, 58, 74, 84 n. 7, 112, 142, 174?, 185, 211, 251-2, 255-6; cf. 213, 272-3, 286-7
- Δίκη 242 n. 149
- dinner parties 252 n. 15
- diplography 106 n. 111
- dogs 46 n. 214, 52
- Doric 169-70, 215
- dramatic setting 18-20, 33-4, 48, 83-4, 112-15, 194-5, 290  
see also incipit
- εἰς θεοί 77 n. 72
- ἐκφρασις 156 n. 45, 164-5, 174-9
- ἐνάργεια 178
- encomium 6 n. 24, 102 n. 90
- Epeios 188
- epinician 198-9, 201-4
- epode 5, 123-4, 128-9, 134, 138, 147-9, 157-8, 160, 161-2
- etymology 185-6, 209 n. 66
- Euhemerus 22-5
- Euphorbus 43-4
- Euphorion 187 n. 20
- Eupolis 16
- ἐξωμύς 91 n. 35
- fable 57-9, 86, 152  
see also αἶνος
- 'feast of life' 38 n. 171
- figs 47, 102 n. 90
- fire 72 n. 50
- 'fires of love' 136 n. 87
- fish mute 54-6
- fishing 132 n. 60, 193, 194
- Fußnotendichtung* 248, 287-8
- Galli 78-80
- γενέθλια 221
- genre 2, 8, 179, 201-4, 252, 256, 261-2, 288-90
- geometry 39-40, 43-4
- ghosts 27 n. 104, 30-1, 36 n. 159
- god's gaze 226 n. 41
- gold 67, 234, 239-43
- gout 37
- griffins 240 n. 239
- Hecale* 105-6
- Hecate 27 n. 104, 211
- Hellenismus* 8-9, 269
- Hephaestion 19 n. 52, 33, 187-8
- Herder 176-8
- Hermes 187 n. 19, 193 n. 49, 195 n. 63, 205-6
- Hermocles 147-8
- Hipponax 4, 7-8, 18-19, 28-30, 123, 143-6
- homosexuality, male 76, 82, 124-5, 205
- Horace 13, 44-5, 61, 196, 243-4, 258 n. 46, 275-6, 291 n. 113
- hymn 183, 222, 229, 289
- hyper-Ionicism 27 n. 103, 98 n. 74
- Iambus 2-8, 100 n. 83, 183 n. 3
- immortality, esp. of song 11-15, 222, 243, 247-9
- incipit 66, 83-4, 128, 148-9, 215, 252-3, 288
- invocation of the Muse(s) 229
- Ion of Chios 252 n. 12, 264-5
- κατάβαςις 13 n. 26, 15-17, 31-2
- kenning 239 n. 136
- κέπφος 22
- κόλλυβος 19 n. 53
- κρήγυος 75 n. 61

- lecture notes 27 n. 105  
 Lessing 175-7  
 'lovers' vows' 77 n. 71  
 Lucian 165  
 Lydians 86, 156 n. 47, 234 n. 101
- μακαρισμός 139 n. 104  
 manners 2, 33-4, 59-60, 62-3, 82,  
 114-15, 143-6, 196, 216-17,  
 255, 258, 294-5  
 measures 160  
 μέλη 276-8  
 μετάληψις αἰσθήσεως 162 n. 80  
 metaphors for 'singing' 226 n. 48,  
 246 n. 177, 263 n. 75  
 metrical rarities 123, 214, 220-1;  
 cf. 147  
 mimetic poetry, *see* dramatic setting  
 Mimnermus 254-5  
 models, *see* tradition; Archilochus;  
 Hipponax; Ion of Chios;  
 Mimnermus; Plato  
 multiplier postponed 155 n. 41  
*Musis laecasin dicunt* 68, 71 n. 41,  
 80-2  
 myth, paradigmatic 247-9
- νεκυομαντεία 15-17, 31-2  
 Nonnus 87 n. 18, 102 n. 90, 105 n.  
 104, 232 nn. 81, 89, 234 n. 102  
 nose, wrinkled 36 n. 158, 83 n. 1
- oaths:  
 ἐπὶ τῶν τομίῳν 73 n. 54  
 of gods by themselves 244 n. 167  
 of lovers 77 n. 71  
 multiple 110 n. 130  
 by rivers 215 n. 97  
 olives 105-6  
 omission 103-4  
 'once upon a time' 36, 49, 86, 202,  
 231  
 opposites expressing totality 37 n.  
 162  
 Ovid 136 n. 87  
 paean 289  
 paradox-wish 80 n. 93  
 parenthesis 35-6, 58, 84, 99 n. 79,  
 108, 128, 143, 162, 209 n. 64,  
 259 n. 51  
 parody 4 n. 12, 13 n. 26, 25 n. 89,  
 77 n. 72, 252 n. 13  
 participle 20, 84 n. 6  
 Pausanias 14, 164, 167-71  
 περιφοραί 186 n. 14  
 periphrasis 19, 153, 163-4, 233-4,  
 239 n. 136  
 philosophers 27 n. 103, 40, 41 n.  
 193  
 Phoenix of Colophon 7 n. 38,  
 29-30  
 Phrygians 40 n. 188, 78 n. 79, 86 n.  
 15  
 pilgrimages 255 n. 36  
 Pindar 12, 14, 71, 199-200, 227,  
 237 nn. 123, 124, 240, 242,  
 247-9  
 πλάσμα 25 n. 91  
 Plato 76, 84 n. 6, 137 n. 91,  
 210-11, 244, 261-2, 263  
*see also* philosophers  
*poculum Sanitatis* 258 n. 47  
 poets:  
 doing what they describe 54 n.  
 37, 228 n. 60  
 receiving cultic worship 3 n. 7  
 positive for superlative 88 n. 24  
 poverty 19, 47, 70-1, 80, 130, 144,  
 249  
 prayer 65, 172, 222, 252, 289  
 προπεμπτικόν 156 n. 45, 172-4  
 Propertius 13, 196, 258 n. 46  
 prophecy 140-1, 241  
 prostitutes, male, found costly by  
 the poet 71-3  
 πρῶτος εὐρετής 67 n. 17, 102 n. 90  
 proverbs 7 n. 37, 19 n. 53, 35 n.  
 152, 45 n. 213, 54 n. 35, 80 n.  
 95, 100 n. 82, 103 n. 96, 105 n.  
 101, 128, 129 n. 42, 140, 144,  
 152, 210 n. 70, 213-14  
 psilosis 36 n. 155, 69 n. 28  
 punctuation 27 n. 101, 65, 68 n. 28,

- 92 n. 44, 95 n. 59, 97 n. 66, 98  
 n. 76, 99 n. 81, 101 n. 86, 107  
 n. 111, 131, 134, 155, 189, 207  
 n. 60, 231 n. 78, 232, 233 n. 90  
 section marks 39 n. 184, 54, 87  
 n. 19, 97 n. 69, 111, 254, 261  
 Pythagoras 40, 43-4  
*see also* philosophers
- 'race of love' 137 nn. 91, 92  
 ranking of contests 99 n. 80  
*Rollenpoesie* 34, 61-2, 293
- sacrifice of swine to Aphrodite 210  
 Samothrace 205 n. 49  
 scazon 4, 5, 6-8, 93 n. 51, 163 n. 89  
 choriambic anacalasis 19 n. 52, 52  
 n. 21, 258 n. 47  
 ischiorrhogy 46 n. 215  
 prosody 137 n. 94, 159 n. 67,  
 189 n. 28  
 synecphonesis 40 n. 187, 69 n.  
 28, 126 n. 22  
 synizesis 233 n. 94  
*schema Alcmanicum* 65 n. 7  
 scholarship:  
 ancient 287-90  
 modern 8-9, 279-82  
 science 49 n. 5, 56  
 self-irony 34, 44, 58-63, 81-2,  
 112-15, 143-6, 162, 171, 179,  
 195-6, 249, 267, 294-5  
 Semonides 4  
 seven 221 n. 15  
 Seven Sages 29-30, 35 n. 153  
*see also* philosophers  
 silence 100 n. 82  
 simile, negative 200 n. 19  
 sources quoted by the poet 60, 86,  
 212 n. 83  
 Statius 26 n. 99, 174 n. 139, 178,  
 226 n. 45  
 statues 150, 182, 188, 195-6, 204,  
 206-7, 212, 218; *cf.* 23  
 Strabo 166-7, 208-9  
 swans singing 97 n. 72
- tattoo 266  
 teachers 46, 124-5, 129 n. 42, 261  
 technical language 153-4, 156, 157  
 n. 57, 160, 161 n. 78, 259-60,  
 266 nn. 94, 95  
 technical poetry 5, 167-8  
 theatre 216 n. 103  
 Theocritus 7 n. 44, 13, 283 n. 69  
*θύω* and *θυίω* confused 200 n. 19  
 Tibullus 74-5, 138 n. 98, 196, 226  
 n. 45  
*τοκέων* 41 n. 195  
 tomb of Zeus 228 n. 59  
 tombstone speaks 215 n. 101  
 tradition 1-2, 30-4, 48, 254-5, 269,  
 293-4  
*see also* Archilochus; Hipponax;  
 Iambus  
 tragedy 55, 262 n. 71  
*τραγῳδός* 54 n. 37  
 transposition 94-5  
 travelling 174 n. 137, 255 n. 34  
*τρίβων* 27 n. 103  
 trimeter 5-6, 203
- underworld 13 n. 26
- variatio* 153, 160, 234  
*see also* periphrasis  
*variatio prosodica* 8 n. 47, 64 n. 3  
*Versparung* 93, 101 n. 86, 224,  
 256  
 victory epigrams 203-4
- Wackernagel's Law 70 n. 40, 86 n.  
 14, 98 n. 77, 189 n. 29, 202 n.  
 28  
 water-drinking 262 n. 71  
 Wieland 179-81, 295